

JUNE 1955  
VOLUME 36, NUMBER 1

# THE Southwestern SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

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# Research, Teaching, and The Social Sciences

P. F. BOYER  
LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

SINCE I spend most of my waking hours concerned with research and teaching, I want to talk to you for a little about them.

If we take a look at the primary and essential objectives of a university, we find there is rather uniform agreement with regard to at least three of these. The one that comes to mind first, and probably the one that most people consider most important, is that of the dispersion of knowledge through teaching, publications, and other accepted means of dissemination. The second is the conservation of knowledge. It is one of the duties of a university to accumulate through its library collection, its archives, museums, and other means, already acquired knowledge and to make it readily available to those who need it. Third, it is the duty of a university to extend the boundaries of knowledge. There are other functions performed by a university, depending in part upon its locality and the interpretation of the university administrators of the responsibilities of the institution.

Research and teaching are interdependent. It is characteristic of a university that the two activities overlap and intertwine and that they thus, in practice, aid and stimulate one another. I do not mean to say that there can be no good teaching without research, but experience shows that teaching is most vital and effective when the person doing the teaching has an opportunity for extended research in his specialized field. Since research is contributory to good teaching, a good-teaching program is not likely to suffer as a result of a research program; on the other hand, research is likely to stimulate the intellectual activity of the instructor and to improve him.

The research obligations of a university are more than simply pushing the frontiers of knowledge back and accumulating new data. The research program must provide training for young investigators of promise, or we might say that the research program has also a teaching function—that of teaching young researchers to carry on.

I am so strongly of the opinion that as teachers you must engage in research and have a "research" attitude toward your work that I doubt whether

NOTE.—Presidential address delivered at the annual convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association at Dallas, Texas, April 8, 1955.

you can do a first-class teaching job if you ignore research. As college teachers, we have a definite responsibility to bring to our students, particularly our graduate students, the results of current research in our fields. Coupled very closely with this duty is that of incorporating these results in our work and writings. Those of you who write textbooks have an unusual responsibility to see that your data reflect the results of research and to see that the statements which you use are accurate. Many of you know from your own experience of cases in which authors of textbooks have simply repeated what they learned from other textbooks without making any attempt to verify data. An example of this sort has come to my attention:

In bank management, it is common practice to run balance-sheet ratios. In 1920, one of the ratios frequently used was the ratio of a bank's capital to its deposit-and-note liability. A textbook in use at that time gave a figure for this ratio that was commonly accepted as correct. One of the members of this Association became doubtful of this ratio figure and upon checking found that the original use of this figure had been made by Stanley Jevons in 1865, and that it had been correct up to 1882, but not correct since that time. However, the textbook writers had continued to quote the original source—or each other—without verifying the data.

Recently I heard a similar story in the field of physics, the point of which is just as applicable in the social sciences. Perhaps some of you know what a thermocouple is. If two dissimilar metals are joined and are heated at their juncture, an electrical current is produced. This principle is used in the floor furnaces in some of your homes to furnish the electric power to operate the thermostatic control. For many years physics textbooks have carried the statement that the operation of the thermocouple is irreversible, that is, that while heating, the thermocouple produces an electric current, and that the reversing of the flow of the current through the thermocouple would not take up heat. Some physics student—inspired by his teacher, we hope—doubted this statement. The result was that he discovered that the thermocouple could be used as a device to take up heat and that it is a feasible means of providing refrigeration. If this discovery proves to be true and is economical in operation, it will revolutionize refrigeration. There are no moving parts in a thermocouple and nothing to wear out. I have heard that there are practical working models and that one of the popular makes of automobiles will use this principle in air conditioning.

For some minutes I have been talking about research, and perhaps it would be well to define the word. "Research" means different things to different people. The term has come to be surrounded with an atmosphere of the mysterious or the glamorous that I think is most unfortunate, and when it is characterized as "scientific research," it becomes potent indeed. Most people envision a spotless laboratory, filled with strange, complicated, in-

comprehensible equipment, with a man in a white coat holding a test tube or reading dials and manipulating controls. I am afraid that a more accurate picture of research should be brought to mind by the term "hard work." Indeed, some of it is drudgery.

Webster defines research as "(1) careful or diligent search; a close searching. (2) studious inquiry; usually, critical and exhaustive investigation or experimentation having for its aim the discovery of new facts and their correct interpretation, the revision of accepted conclusions in the light of newly discovered facts. . ." The word may be pronounced either *re-search* or *re'-search*. At the other end of the scale, research is defined as merely trying to find out things. Another definition given by Frederic A. Ogg in *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences* is a very liberal one:

Man learns a good many things by accident—by simply stumbling upon them. In the main, however, he adds to his knowledge by definite, deliberate inquiry—by coming up against a question or problem and casting about for an answer or solution. This process of conscious, premeditated inquiry we call research. There is no need of laboring over a definition of research. The term obviously excludes (although there is much popular confusion on the point) that which is only search by one man for what another already knows, or the mere rearranging of facts and materials. But the name is worthily bestowed on any investigative effort—in library, laboratory, field, or shop—which has for its object an increase of the sum total of human knowledge, either by additions to the stock of actual present knowledge or by the discovery of new bases of knowledge, which for the research worker, and ultimately for the future of intellectual life, is of course far the more important. Research may or may not come to success; it may or may not add anything to what is already known. It is sufficient that its objective be new knowledge, or at least a new mode or orientation of knowledge [pp. 13, 14].

I like to think of research as the application of the scientific method to the solution of a problem. By the "scientific method" I mean the steps of (1) defining the problem; (2) collecting pertinent data; (3) attempting a solution on available data; (4) if insufficient data are available, an original collection, if possible; (5) a solution based on the data. A sixth step—the review of conclusions and revaluation—may be possible in some cases. This scientific method is, of course, suitable for any problem—even your personal ones—for it permits the substitution of logic for emotion.

I would like to do everything I can to encourage you to engage in research, not simply as you must in preparing your lectures and in keeping up with your field, but in the investigation of a problem in your field. It is my guess that there exists in all of your institutions some arrangement for research. A look at our colleges shows that these arrangements take various forms, and such a variation is desirable. Sometimes a research committee is set up. Ordinarily this committee, working under the direction of a chair-

man, has the responsibility of allocating a limited amount of college funds to faculty who want to work on problems. The principal function of the committee is the screening and selecting of researchers and problems. Usually there is no responsibility for supervising the actual research work. Or provision for research may be made through some type of organization. In some cases we find a broad organization that cuts across several disciplines, and sometimes there are research institutes which function for all areas of the college or university, such as the Stanford Research Institute. In other cases there are specialized organizations, such as the institutes for population research, the bureaus of government research, or the bureaus of business research.

It may be that my background of work with this latter form of organized research prejudices me, but as I see it, there are many advantages of the formal organization over the committee, where little more than the distribution of funds for projects is involved. There is a feeling on the part of the committee that only slight and casual administrative aid is needed, if any. The chairman of the committee—a dean or other university officer—ordinarily handles the minor necessary administrative duties as practically a spare-time activity. On the other hand, where there is an organization provided, there is planning for a program of research. There are for the individual researcher counsel and the provision of common facilities, such as statistical machines, technicians, and secretarial and clerical aid, as well as administrative assistance and direction. The pooling of secretarial, clerical, and statistical help makes for economical and efficient use of the time of these people, as work can be scheduled to serve the researchers and to give full-time employment to those assisting them. For many researchers there is another real advantage: many of the irksome details of an administrative and budgetary nature are taken care of. If the results of the research are worthy of publication, the details of putting a manuscript through publication are carried out by the organization, thus providing assistance and know-how.

There is yet another advantage to the organized research. It is a going concern and, as such, has a group of qualified people in allied fields available to undertake problems. This organized staff, with a history of successful performance, is important in securing grants for sponsored research.

Why is more research not performed in the social sciences in the universities and colleges? A number of reasons are given by a man who has made a study of this subject: (1) the lack of appreciation by the public of the importance and possibilities of productive scholarship; (2) inadequate financial support; (3) improper organization of instruction, often resulting in too much undergraduate teaching; (4) housekeeping duties of the university; (5) inadequate facilities; (6) insufficient provision for publi-

cation of completed work; (7) shifting of research men to other employment; and (8) failure of the scholarly life to attract able men.

These barriers to research in the social sciences are not all of equal importance, and many of them can be overcome. I feel that probably the biggest barrier is the lack of determination on the part of faculty members to perform this essential function. True, funds to carry out social-science research must be found; research faculty must have reduced teaching loads; research facilities, such as secretarial and clerical help and a library must be provided; and provision must be made for publication. But I believe all of these can be provided if you want them badly enough. From a selfish standpoint alone, you should engage in research. There is no other activity from which you can receive as much recognition in so short a time as from research successfully done. Every one of you and every one of your colleagues are successful teachers. Your research is peculiarly your own.

What has been happening to research during recent years? It has been estimated that the total annual expenditure for research and development of all kinds has increased from a pre-Second World War figure of \$200 million to \$3.5 billion today. One estimate shows that the government pays for 55 per cent, industry for 40 per cent, and the universities for 5 per cent of this research. Ten years earlier, industry paid 60 per cent, the government 35 per cent, and the universities 5 per cent. The government has now become the principal agent in sponsored research and accounts for about \$2 billion of the total, with about \$150 million of this allotted to colleges and universities and another \$150 million to research laboratories.

I want to emphasize the responsibility of our universities in this program. The research scholar must be given the freedom to pursue problems in his field. To whatever extent research may, in the future, be performed outside of colleges and universities, these institutions must continue to bear the responsibility, and to enjoy the high privilege, of giving almost all investigators their initial training. A considerable majority of the best social scientists in this country are to be found in the universities and colleges throughout the land. And in large measure, organization for research in the social sciences revolves about improving the research opportunities and resources available in these institutions. Opportunities for unrestricted research in the social sciences are to be found nowhere else as in the colleges and universities of this country.

By the nature of the subject matter, much of the research in business and economics will be applied; yet I recognize the need in this and other fields for basic research and the development of better research techniques. I know of no place where the researcher can be assured of as much freedom of action and thought as in our universities. I do not want to give the impression that industry is not interested in basic research and that no basic

research is carried on by industry; but industry is organized to operate for a profit, and stockholders expect dividends. Thus, undertaking basic research becomes primarily the responsibility of universities.

I do not have a breakdown of the expenditure of funds among the various subject-matter fields, but from observation it is apparent to all of us that the greater part of the funds goes into the fields usually designated as the "natural" and "physical" sciences. Funds allocated to the social sciences have been almost negligible in comparison. I must hasten to make clear to you that I do not think funds should be taken from the other fields to be given to the social sciences. Without continuing research and development in the physical and natural sciences we cannot expect the extremely rapid development in these fields to continue. I am simply stating the need of the social sciences.

Since the Morrill Act was passed in 1862, a program of research in agriculture has been carried on by our land-grant colleges. With the results of this program all of you are familiar—improved varieties of plants, improved methods of cultivation, greatly increased yields per acre. No one can doubt that the money has been well spent. Similar improvements are to be found in the invention, the improvement, and the production of most of the manufactured goods we use. I hate to admit it, but I am afraid the improvement in our social organization has not kept pace.

This lack of gain in our social organization has been due partly, I believe, to a lack of research in this field. Research in the social sciences is about seventy-five years behind the other sciences. There is a great need to develop better research methods and techniques. In some cases we have borrowed from the other sciences. During the lifetime of some of you there have been developed statistical tools suited to the use of the social scientist. R. A. Fisher's invention of the analysis of variance and covariance was of great importance, for it frees experimentation from the necessity of laboratory control. Since the social sciences are not laboratory sciences, we must develop techniques of research other than those of the laboratory and controlled experiments. The use of electronic computing machines makes possible the handling of mass data on an economical basis and opens fields of investigation previously closed to the social-science research worker. Other research tools must be developed, and I am confident they will be.

As I see it, a major problem for the social sciences is to secure funds to carry on a program of research. What we need is a "Morrill Act" for the social sciences. However this money is secured, whether from the federal or state governments, from our institutions, or from foundations that sponsor research, money alone will not solve the problem of research because research is not done with money. We must develop people who can do research, and we must develop new and better techniques.

# Fact and Value in Charles E. Merriam

TANG TSOU  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MORTON WHITE has pointed out that opinion in academic circles in the United States in the decade after the First World War was characterized by a profound disillusionment with the past and a desire for change and conscious construction of the future.<sup>1</sup> This mood reinforced tendencies that had begun before the war and were to dominate the universities for the next twenty years. In all the social studies, and in philosophy as well, dissatisfaction with the traditional approaches had turned men toward the methods and viewpoints of the natural sciences. In sociology, Giddings' early emphasis on the desirability of the application of the inductive method to the study of social phenomena had ushered in a new day.<sup>2</sup> In psychology, Watsonian behaviorism, with its biological foundation, was expounded as early as 1908.<sup>3</sup> The "new history" of James H. Robinson and Charles A. Beard dates from 1907.<sup>4</sup> Conceptual jurisprudence was first challenged by sociological jurisprudence, with its factual and utilitarian orientation, and then by legal realism, which "looks to a 'pure' science of law along the lines of natural science."<sup>5</sup> In philosophy, John Dewey, whose "instrumentalism"

<sup>1</sup> Morton G. White, *Social Thought in America* (New York, Viking Press, Inc., 1949), 180-81.

<sup>2</sup> Frank Giddings, *Inductive Sociology* (New York, Macmillan Co., 1901), chaps. 2, 3; Robert E. Park, "Sociology and the Social Sciences," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVI (1920-21), 401-24; XXVII (1921-22), 1-12, 169-86; George Lundberg, "Logic of Sociology and Social Research," in *Trends in American Sociology*, ed. by George Lundberg, Read Davis, and Nels Anderson (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1929).

<sup>3</sup> Watson published his systematic text on psychology, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, in 1925. See Gerner Murphy, *Historical Introduction to Modern Psychology* (Rev. ed., New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), chap. 18.

<sup>4</sup> White, *Social Thought in America*, 47-52, 195-96; H. E. Barnes, "History and Prospect of History," in *History and Prospect of the Social Sciences*, ed. by H. E. Barnes (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1925); Arthur Schlesinger, "History," in *Research in the Social Sciences*, ed. by Wilson Gee (New York, Macmillan Co., 1929).

<sup>5</sup> Roscoe Pound, "Jurisprudence," in Gee, *Research in the Social Sciences*; C. P. Patterson, "Recent Political Theory Developed in Jurisprudence," in *Political Theories: Recent Times*, ed. by C. E. Merriam and H. E. Barnes (New York, Macmillan Co., 1924); K. N. Llewellyn, "The Condition for and the Aims and Methods of Legal Research," and "Legal Traditions and Social Science Method—A Realist's Critique," excerpts in *Readings in Jurisprudence*, ed. by Jerome Hall (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1938), 789-96, 1153-56.

borrowed heavily from the natural sciences, proposed the application of scientific method to social and moral problems.<sup>6</sup>

Following the same pattern, but lagging somewhat behind the other social sciences, a parallel development took place in political science. The leader of this movement was Charles E. Merriam, who in 1921 advocated the "cross-fertilization of politics with science, so-called, or more strictly with modern methods of inquiry and investigation."<sup>7</sup> As part of this program, he championed the extensive application of the statistical techniques, recourse to which would, in his opinion, tend "distinctly toward scientific treatment and demonstrable conclusions."<sup>8</sup> Largely as a result of the promptings by Merriam, the American Political Science Association became interested in the problem of applying the method of the natural sciences in political studies. A condensed statement of a discussion at a meeting of the association in 1921 noted the desirability of "exact measurement of recurring processes" as a first step toward "exact knowledge and scientific verifiable inference."<sup>9</sup> The National Conference on the Science of Politics was held in 1923 and again in 1924 and 1925.<sup>10</sup> The aim of these conferences was to develop scientific techniques of research and a methodology for political science.

Two publications by Merriam can be taken as the signposts of the intellectual tendency of this time. In the first, *Non-Voting*,<sup>11</sup> Merriam and Gosnell reported an empirical study of nonvoting at the mayoralty election in Chicago in April, 1923. The technique of sampling and the statistics of attributes were used for the first time by American political scientists in this study.<sup>12</sup> The second publication, *New Aspects of Politics*, appeared in

<sup>6</sup> Instrumentalism asserts that thought is an instrument by which man adapts himself to his environment; that thought starts with a problematic situation and terminates in a solution of the problem, and that the knower in the quest for a solution of the problematical situation necessarily manipulates and transforms by his deliberate action the antecedent situation just as the natural scientist must manipulate and transform the antecedent situation in the process of performing an experiment. For Dewey's early views, see Essays I-IV in *Studies in Logical Theory* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1903), *Essays in Experimental Logic* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1916), and "The Experimental Theory of Knowledge," in *Influence of Darwinism on Philosophy* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1910). For a discussion of Dewey's theory of knowledge, see Arthur E. Murphy, "Dewey's Epistemology and Metaphysics," and Donald A. Piatt, "Dewey's Logical Theory," in *The Philosophy of Dewey*, ed. by Paul Schilpp (Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1939). For Dewey's conception of philosophy, see Joseph Ratner, "Dewey's Conception of Philosophy," in Schilpp, *The Philosophy of John Dewey*; White, *Social Thought in America*, chap. 12.

<sup>7</sup> "The Present State of the Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review*, XV (1921).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI (1922).

<sup>10</sup> See the reports of these conferences in *American Political Science Review*, XVII, XIX, XX (1924, 1925, 1926).

<sup>11</sup> C. E. Merriam and Harold Gosnell, *Non-Voting* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1924).

<sup>12</sup> The first statistical studies made by an American political scientist were two studies made by A. L. Lowell. In one of them the technique of time series was used; in the other, a

1925. The central theme of this book was, in Merriam's words, "the consideration and adoption of more scientific and intelligent methods in the study and practice of government."<sup>13</sup> Arguing that the "a priori and deductive" method was outmoded, Merriam urged that the techniques of statistical measurement and analysis be used extensively and that controlled experiments be set up whenever possible. He described the new method thus: "The cycle of inquiry, then, is likely to include some tentative hypotheses, some effort to establish them by analogy (or to contrive others by logic); then the effort to verify by quantitative measurement, and if possible by controlled experiment."<sup>14</sup>

The demand for the application of the method and viewpoint of science to the study of social and political phenomena had a much more significant consequence than the mere adoption of the techniques of measurement and controlled experiment. It meant that social and political disciplines should be treated as empirical sciences. Further, this definition of social and political disciplines as empirical sciences was linked with the logical distinction between fact judgment and value judgment, between empirical studies and moral or ethical philosophy, and between scientific theory of social and political life on the one hand and, on the other, political ideologies, which seek to justify and rationalize a particular political program, form of government, or social order. It entailed, therefore, a denial that social and political study is moral philosophy or political ideology, and a simultaneous demand for the abandonment of what one writer called "the ethical and moralistic approaches." It involved, moreover, a far-reaching and highly restrictive injunction that social and political scientists, qua scientists, abstain from making ultimate value judgments. This demand brought about a complete reorientation of social and political studies.

Of course, this reorientation was not merely the work of Charles E. Merriam. It was the culmination of the pervasive influence of almost two centuries of positivistic thoughts on the social studies. Hume had distinguished between reason, fact, and value. Kant, by destroying the identification of nature and morality, had established the epistemological foundation of natural, as well as social, science. John Stuart Mill in his *Logic* elaborated the distinction between judgments of fact and judgments of

unit was constructed to measure the influence of party on legislation. In many ways the work and the methodological views of Lowell foreshadowed the development in the twenties. See A. L. Lowell, "Oscillations in Politics," *Annals of American Academy*, XII (1896); "The Influence of Party on Legislation in England and America," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, I (1901); "The Physiology of Politics," *American Political Science Review*, IV (1910); Henry A. Yeomans, *Abbots L. Lowell* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948).

<sup>13</sup> C. E. Merriam, *New Aspects of Politics* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1925).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

value. By the turn of the century this logical distinction not only received increasing attention in methodological writings but also came to have increasing effect on the actual practice of research in the social sciences. Systematic reliance upon the Kantian epistemology is best exemplified by Max Weber. Weber not only insisted on the absolute heterogeneity between problems of fact and problems of value but also impressed upon social scientists the idea that their disciplines, as empirical sciences, cannot provide ultimate norms nor legitimately make ultimate value judgments. In his works, he sought with varying degrees of success to adhere to this methodological principle.<sup>15</sup> In this respect, at least, Simmel and Pareto agreed with Weber.<sup>16</sup>

There was, therefore, a close conjunction between empirical research and an eschewal of value judgments. Merriam's commitment to the one led him to the other. In his *New Aspects of Politics* in 1925, he spoke contemptuously of the traditional theories of the state as "justifications or rationalizations of groups in power or seeking power—the special pleadings of races, religions, and classes in behalf of their special situations."<sup>17</sup> It was natural that he should turn next to the study of power. His *Political Power* was published in 1934. His purpose was not "to attack or defend some form or phase of power": "My purpose is to set forth what role power plays in the process of social control." He was "not concerned primarily" with the problems of the moral basis of the State, the proper role of government, or the just repository of power, but with the conditions, the techniques, the transfer, and the kinds of power.<sup>18</sup>

It is interesting that Merriam deals with justice, morality, and the general welfare only in his discussion of the techniques for the successful exercise of power. In a passage reminiscent of Machiavelli, he says that "the skilled ruler emphasizes and reiterates his deep sense of responsibility for the general welfare of the people he serves, and frames himself in this large scheme of values of which he is the champion."<sup>19</sup> He asserts that "power without justice rests upon uncertain basis, and its days are numbered,"<sup>20</sup> but he gives no other content to justice than "the sense of justice"—i.e.,

<sup>15</sup> From Max Weber: *Essays in Sociology*. Trans. and ed. by H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946). Max Weber, *Methodology of the Social Sciences*, ed. and trans. by Edward Shils (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1949).

<sup>16</sup> Kurt H. Wolff (trans. and ed.), *The Sociology of G. Simmel* (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1950); N. J. Spykman, *Social Theory of G. Simmel* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1925); Vilfredo Pareto, *Mind and Society*, Vol. I, chap. 1, ed. by Arthur Livingston (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935); Talcott Parsons, *Structure of Social Action* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937).

<sup>17</sup> *New Aspects of Politics*, xiv.

<sup>18</sup> *Political Power* (New York, Whittlesey House, 1934), 3-4.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 209-10.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

the demands—of the citizenry. His concern is not with justice as an external standard by which the sense of justice in a community can be judged but with the sociological fact of community opinion.

It [justice] rests basically upon an assumed generality of a system of values in a community allotting recognition to individuals and groups under a regularized system. If there is not such a fundamental agreement upon values of recognition and upon what constitutes consistency in distribution, there is no generalized sense of injustice.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly Merriam defined morality as "a body of practices and customs which have become behavior patterns in a particular group, and which are enforced by various sanctions of customs, chief but not alone among which is the loss of prestige, the lowering in the scale of social approbation, which individuals reckon among their assets."<sup>22</sup> Here, too, the discussion is a sociological analysis rather than an attempt to set up ethical and moral standards.

The abstention from ultimate value judgments and the shift of emphasis from moral evaluation to scientific analysis does not mean disregard of the importance of the role played by values, ends, objectives, and purposes in human affairs, as some have inferred.<sup>23</sup> It means rather that values, ends, objectives, and purposes of human and social groups are to be taken as data—phenomena or facts to be examined in their relation to each other and to other phenomena. Furthermore, this approach is not incompatible with attempts to ascertain the appropriate means, or to evaluate the effectiveness of a proposed means, to a given or hypothetical end. It is merely that science does not undertake to make a judgment about what the ultimate values, objectives, purposes, or ends should be.

As a matter of fact, Merriam did constantly note the relations between political power and the existent ends, purposes, objectives, and values in a society. Thus, he pointed out that the power situation always "involves some common purpose,"<sup>24</sup> that one of the great tasks of political organization and control is the adjustment of conflicting "value systems" espoused or cherished by individuals, and that the State, in its struggle with other members of the family of power, such as the Church, appeals to the "ultimate sense of right" of the community. But what this common purpose should be, what standards the State should employ in adapting or adjust-

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

<sup>23</sup> For example, Carl J. Friedrich misconstrued Merriam's desire to get away from problems of ultimate value judgment as a disregard of the importance of the role of ends and purposes in human affairs.—*Constitutional Government and Democracy* (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1941), 583-84.

<sup>24</sup> Merriam, *Political Power*, 17-18.

ing the conflicting value systems of the individuals, and whether the prevailing "sense of right" is really right in the normative sense—these questions fall outside the scope of Merriam's analysis at this time, and therefore found no answer in *Political Power*.

Within a few years, however, Merriam became preoccupied with the problems which he had excluded from *Political Power*. In this, too, he moved with the current of his time. The Great Depression subjected the whole social, economic, and political structure to an unprecedented test, and the rise of fascism and naziism in Europe challenged the values and practices of democracy as they had never been challenged before. In the world war which ensued, the United States found itself first the "arsenal of democracy" and later the unquestioned leader of the free world, engaged in a life-and-death struggle against nations under different forms of despotism. It was inevitable that in that period of upheaval men should become increasingly preoccupied with questions of value, which constituted one of the issues in the global conflict. It is obvious that many of these problems fall, by definition, outside the scope of a value-free political science and cannot be answered by such a science. Nevertheless, Merriam turned to these pressing questions and undertook to reintroduce them into his political science. In doing so, he explicitly ceased to adhere to the postulate of freedom from value judgment and a value-free, empirical political science.

In a series of books he dealt with the very questions he had ruled out in *Political Power*. *The Role of Politics in Social Change*, published in 1936, dealt with "whether the State should do much, very little, or nothing at all," with specific reference to planning. In 1939, *New Democracy and New Despotism* gave an unequivocal answer to "whether the many or the few should rule." *Systematic Politics*, in 1945, was organized around the central idea that the ends of the State are the common good, and by inference answered "whether power must have a moral base."

This shift of emphasis back to the problems of political philosophy was clearly discernible in the *Prologue to Politics*, published in 1939, which drew the conclusions that a systematic study of politics must make judgments of what ought to be as well as what is. He wrote:

In the broadest sense, politics provides a framework of association in which the commonweal is the central and focal point.

"What is the commonweal?" one may inquire. Here we enter into a world of difficulties. Is the commonweal what the government or the ruling class regards as commonweal; or is it what I think it is, at the time, in a given political society, or at some later time, viewing the situation objectively? How common must the weal be? Is the commonweal what is, or what ought to be? Obviously, there are

many answers here: one drawn from an observation of what the state has typically done or what it now does; another from the point of view of what the state might or ought to do now or in the future. It is the task of a rounded system of politics to neglect none of these situations in its observations, reflections, and conclusions.<sup>25</sup>

Accordingly, throughout *Prologue to Politics*, ethical judgments and scientific analysis are placed side by side with each other; expressions of faith and estimates of trend are conglomerated. Here is to be found Merriam's declaration of what he believed to be "the chief end of man politically, and the ideals to be pursued in reaching this goal," his proclamation of a set of guiding considerations for the ideal State, and "an initial definition of the ends of the state."

The problems raised by this new orientation are readily identifiable by the philosophy of democracy which Merriam set forth in *New Democracy and New Despotism* as a set of "assumptions."

1. The essential dignity of man, the importance of protecting and cultivating his personality on a fraternal rather than a differential principle, and the elimination of special privileges based upon unwarranted or exaggerated emphasis on the human differentials.
2. Confidence in a constant drive toward the perfectibility of mankind.
3. The assumption that gains of commonwealths are essentially mass gains and should be diffused as promptly as possible throughout the community without too great delay or too wide a spread in differential.
4. The desirability of popular decision in the last analysis on basic questions of social direction and policy, and of recognized procedures for the expression of such decisions and their valuation in policy.
5. Confidence in the possibility of conscious social change accomplished through the process of consent rather than by the method of violence.<sup>26</sup>

It is obvious that the first, third, and fourth of these assumptions are value judgments on what is desirable or undesirable and what ought to be or what ought not to be. The second assumption is a declaration of faith in the possibility of human development; the fifth is at once a value judgment on the desirability of the use of consent rather than violence and a declaration of faith in the conscious direction of social change and the efficacy of the method of consent as over and against the method of violence. The value judgments are moral standards or criteria which ought to guide the actions of a democracy and in terms of which the policies and practices in a democracy should be evaluated.

The ethical nature of these assumptions was plainly recognized by Merri-

<sup>25</sup> Merriam, *Prologue to Politics* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939), 84.

<sup>26</sup> Merriam, *New Democracy and New Despotism* (New York, Whittlesey House, 1939), 11-12.

am. He asserted that "for the proof of some of them we should look primarily to rational and perhaps ethical analysis."<sup>27</sup> He did not explicitly state, however, what this "rational-ethical" analysis is, or in what intellectual operations or specific steps this type of analysis consists. Nor did he show by example what this rational-ethical analysis, or point of view, looks like in practice. Rather, he was largely preoccupied with showing and proving, in the light of "the body of observations, analyses, and conclusions accumulated by modern social science"<sup>28</sup> that the democratic assumptions are not incompatible with these recent empirical findings; that they do lead to consequences generally considered desirable; that the undesirable consequences attributed to the democratic way of life by its opponents are inescapable consequences of any form of associated living, or are preventable through new ways of acting and new lines of policy not incompatible with the democratic assumptions, or, at the worst, are more than balanced by its desirable features. Above all, he wished to show that specific programs and policies to realize the democratic assumptions can be designed and are within our power to carry out. It does not seem that Merriam regarded operations of this order as falling within the meaning of his term "rational-ethical" analysis, or point of view. They deal with the utility or practicality, rather than the validity, of the democratic assumptions. But the significant point for us, at the moment, is that Merriam made a set of value judgments his point of departure, that he seemed to imply that the empirical methods of the social sciences are not the only valid method, and that "rational-ethical" analysis, whatever it may be, is another valid method of obtaining and testing knowledge.

*Systematic Politics* likewise illustrates Merriam's new preoccupation. It had long been his ambition to expound systematically the principles of politics. *Political Power*, published in 1934, was a tentative statement of such a system. *Systematic Politics*, published in 1945, was the realization of this long-cherished project. It draws heavily upon *Political Power*, as well as upon his other books. But whereas the center of interest in *Political Power* is the techniques of power, that of *Systematic Politics* is the ends of government. Whereas *Political Power* is not concerned with the moral basis of power—the legitimate province of government or the problem of democracy versus aristocracy—*Systematic Politics* is particularly concerned with exactly these problems. Whereas *Political Power* is mainly interested, at least in its declared intention, in making empirical statements, *Systematic Politics* is as much interested in declaring value judgments as in making factual assertions. In it one finds Merriam's systematic and general treatment of the ends of government.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

According to Merriam, the ends of government are external security, internal order, justice, general welfare, and freedom. They can be summed up under the term the "commonweal," or the common good.<sup>29</sup> The common good is the all-embracing purpose and ends of government. Merriam wrote: "The postulate of political society is that there is a common good and that there are agreed ways and means of achieving it in practice for the community."<sup>30</sup> How did he know this? And what did he mean? Viewed as an empirical generalization, a statement that the ends of government are security, order, justice, general welfare, and freedom may have any one of three meanings. One is that all governments, without exception, have made security, order, justice, general welfare, and freedom their ends. Thus construed, the statement is plainly false. As Merriam himself pointed out, "He would be a poor observer who did not perceive many forms of political associations in which the above [security, order, etc.] were not the ends in view."<sup>31</sup> This, then, was obviously not the meaning given to it by Merriam.

Another possible meaning of the statement is that although not all governments make the common good the ends of their actions, the overwhelming majority of them do. This assumption entitles us to make the empirical generalization that, by and large, the ends of government are security, order, justice, welfare, and freedom, just as the fact that a larger proportion, though not all, of the people with low social-economic status vote for the Democratic ticket than the Republican ticket entitles us to say that the Democratic party has its basis in people with low social-economic status. In both cases, the generalization is a matter of statistical average, and can, in principle, be empirically verified or rejected. Merriam offered no verification, and it is obvious that the meaning constituted only a very unimportant part of the sense that he gave the statement. The statement was, in his mind, much more than an empirical generalization based on past and present events.

Another passage in Merriam's *Systematic Politics* brings us to a third meaning that the statement may have as an empirical generalization. He wrote:

These ends [security, freedom, etc.] we may establish by observation, experience, and reflection from which the type forms of governmental action emerge. This type is not merely an average of observations ranging from Nero to Roosevelt, but a consensus of judgment, indicating what the type government tends to become.<sup>32</sup>

This passage shows that the statement about the ends of government may be meant to be a statement about an observable trend in the past and present

<sup>29</sup> Merriam, *Systematic Politics* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945), 31.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, vii (my italics).

and an extrapolation or projection of that trend into the future. A statement about past and present trends is based on "observation and experience," and an extrapolation of a trend necessarily involves "reflection" and "judgment." Here we use the terms "reflection" and "judgment" in a narrow sense, as we use them in speaking of the making of a forecast as distinguished from a prediction. It appears that this meaning of the statement was included in Merriam's formulation. But in the light of the trend of his thinking and the tone of the whole book, and notwithstanding his earlier interest in the application of the statistical technique in the study of political problems, one doubts that the primary meaning which he intended to give to the statement can be rendered in so mechanistic a fashion.

In this context, another passage assumes unusual significance as an indication of his thought. Merriam wrote: "The ends of government are those which are identified with its operation in its developed and developing estate, as in the case of other species; and these are the characteristic aspects and actions of the political society in its typical form."<sup>33</sup> Now the problem here, let us recall, is to establish the ends of government. The statement just quoted can have an empirical meaning and can serve the purpose of establishing the ends of government only if we can specify what he intends to designate by the phrase "its operation in its [the government's] developed and developing estate." If the phrase "[government] in its developed and developing estate" means government in the future, and if it can be correctly forecast by extrapolation or projection of trend that the ends of the government in the future will be security, order, justice, welfare, and freedom, then we are warranted in concluding from the quoted statement that the ends of government are the ends he mentions. But, unfortunately, the "developed and developing estate" in the case of the government or the State is less easy to specify than "in the case of other species." Which of the present governments—say Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R., or Sweden—approximates more closely "the developed or developing estate" than the other? Or is the government of the present, the government in the Greek city-state, or government in medieval Europe, the "[government] in its developed and developing estate"? If it is the government in the future, then at what future time? Conceivably mankind may be wiped out in a destructive war, or tyranny may triumph throughout the world. There is no certainty that the ends of justice, freedom, and welfare will be better served in the future than in the past. If the phrase "[government] in its developed and developing estate" has no definitely assigned meaning, if its meaning is ambiguous, then to establish the "real ends" of government by discerning the ends of government "which are identified with

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

its operation in its developed and developing estate" is a hopeless task. As a matter of fact, to speak in these terms has very little empirical meaning unless one identifies "[government] in its developed and developing estate" with government in the future and further correctly forecasts what the ends of the government in the future will be.

Obviously it would be a misinterpretation of Merriam's discussion of the ends of government to give it a strictly empirical meaning and to construe it in a strictly mechanistic manner. His statement quoted above suggests the classical notion that the nature or essence of a thing is found only when its potentiality is fully realized. The ends of government or State are those it exhibits when its nature or essence is fully developed, i.e., when the common good or security, order, justice, welfare, and freedom become the ends of the actual government. Whether this formulation is mere tautology or involves circularity in logic is beside the point. For, interpreted in this way, Merriam's statement that the ends of government are security, order, justice, welfare, and freedom, together constituting the common good, is more than an empirical generalization. It expresses a pious hope, a noble aspiration, and even a confident expectation that in the future the ends of all governments will be the common good. And at the same time it is a value judgment that the government in all its operations *should* pursue as its ends the common good.

Another question may be raised. When Merriam asserted that the ends of government are security, order, justice, welfare, and freedom, summed up under the general notion of the "common good," did he mean these values as the people and the governments concerned see them, or did he intend a single definite meaning for these terms and thus assume criteria by which one can judge whether and to what extent the ideals or ends are realized in practice? Many of his statements were made with both alternatives in mind. Sometimes, in one paragraph and in one breath, he shifted back and forth from one to the other. It appears that he intended to suggest at once all these propositions: that the ends of government are, or should be, security, order, justice, welfare, and freedom, i.e., the common good as the political community defines it, that the ends of government should be the common good in some objective sense; and, finally, that the common notions about these ends of government tend ultimately to approximate the objective meanings of these terms.

If, as we have suggested, Merriam's statement that the ends of government are security, order, justice, welfare, and freedom included as a part of its meaning the *judgment* that these should be the ends of government, then the definitions of these notions carry within them normative criteria which may be used to judge and evaluate actual practices, and they state the ideals which government should try to realize. As a matter of fact, Merri-

am's moral aspirations and ultimate values are explicitly spelled out in these definitions and in his discussions of their import and their order of priority.

We shall not discuss in detail his notion of security, order, and welfare as ends of government. Suffice it to say that in Merriam's mind security is losing its importance as an end of government,<sup>84</sup> that order is less important than justice,<sup>85</sup> and that welfare is a means to the end of freedom.<sup>86</sup> But his discussion of the notions of justice and freedom merits some attention. For not only are they the ends of government that have higher priority in Merriam's thought, but, more importantly, his discussion of justice reveals certain ambiguities which characterize most attempts to define "ends," and his discussion of freedom furnishes a good example of the method of moral political philosophers, beginning with Plato, in laying down an ultimate end. We are interested in Merriam's ideas not only for their own sake but also for the light they shed on the trend of the systematic study of politics in the United States and for the problems which they raise with regard to methodology in science and ethics.

Justice is defined by Merriam as "a system of understandings and procedures through which each is accorded what is agreed upon as fair."<sup>87</sup> It is therefore a system of social institutions, public policies, behavior patterns, and personal attitudes through which an ethical ideal is realized. This ideal is to accord to each what is agreed upon as fair. This notion of justice as a system existing to realize an ethical ideal has a normative content which the same notion lacked in *Political Power*, a point treated earlier in this paper. The statement that justice is an end of government now conveys the idea that government should act in such a way as to accord to each what is agreed upon as fair. But, viewed as an ethical ideal, Merriam's phrase "Each is accorded what is agreed upon as fair" left unanswered several important questions. "Agreed upon as fair" by whom? Whose agreement is it that counts? Is it the agreement reached by the community concerned? Is there any objective standard by which what is agreed upon as fair at a particular time by a particular group of persons can be evaluated as really "fair"? Merriam's thinking on the problem of justice stopped at a point where the normative element becomes truly significant and thereby fell short of answering the decisive question. Cutting through the ambiguities and unanswered questions, one finds that Merriam's discussion of justice as an end of government was partly intended as a reaffirmation of the doctrine of equality, including both equality before the law and equality of opportunity. It was also his purpose to emphasize the need for the realization of social justice

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-33.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-42.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

through positive social programs as well as the mere maintenance of a system of legal justice.

Merriam rejected as inadequate the definition of freedom as "the absence of restraints by government." He emphasized the positive aspect of the notion: "Liberty connotes the fullest and richest possible development of the possibilities of the personality of the citizens."<sup>38</sup> This is what is called a "persuasive definition" by C. L. Stevenson.<sup>39</sup> It joins together a strongly emotive term as the one to be defined and a set of descriptive terms to define it. In this way, his definition gives greater precision to the descriptive meaning of the term without changing the emotive qualities of that term. It seeks to attach favorable emotive attitudes to the objects described in the definition. To state the matter conventionally, the definition lays down the criterion or standard by which one can judge whether a certain institution or policy is conducive to freedom. To repeat the same idea in the terminology of linguistic analysis, the definition specifies the descriptive meaning of the term and recommends this specific meaning for exclusive use. To select a specific sense of a strongly emotive term like "freedom" as the only true sense, or to speak of certain ends of the State as the "real ends" is to plead a moral cause. Here Merriam is pleading the moral cause of "the fullest and richest possible development of the possibilities of the personality of the citizens."

It appears that freedom in this sense was for Merriam the most important end of the State, with the other ends mentioned contributing to its realization. He wrote that "in providing security against external aggression, in organizing systems of order, in promoting justice, in encouraging the general welfare, the state advances the growth of liberty in the true sense of the term."<sup>40</sup> Analyzing the trend of government, he prophesied that "freedom and welfare are the two ends of the political society which loom largest in the coming forms of the state."<sup>41</sup> Thus freedom not only constitutes the essence of the principle of "the dignity of man," considered by him to be the first assumption of democracy, but it is also regarded by him as the most important end of government. This notion of freedom is a recurrence of that of the early days of American political science; it is Willoughby's principle of justice and Lieber's postulates of natural law.<sup>42</sup> Merriam considered this conception of freedom to be "the 'good life' of the Greeks, the 'spiritual life,' the 'more abundant life' of our time."<sup>43</sup> It is the time-honored

<sup>38</sup> *Systematic Politics*, 56.

<sup>39</sup> *Ethics and Language* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944).

<sup>40</sup> *Systematic Politics*, 61.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

<sup>42</sup> Francis Lieber, *Political Ethics* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1890), 40; W. W. Willoughby, *Social Ethics* (New York, Macmillan Co., 1924), 24.

<sup>43</sup> *Systematic Politics*, 56.

idea that "every man is a human being, an end in himself, with a claim for the development of his own personality, and that human beings have a dignity and a worth, respect for which is the firm basis of human association."<sup>44</sup>

Thus both in the content of his thought and in his method of analysis, Merriam went back to the traditions of political philosophy. The return to the traditional method is particularly striking. When he wrote *New Aspects of Politics*, he was, to use his own words, "profoundly dissatisfied with the basic methods of observation and analysis in political science,"<sup>45</sup> and was particularly concerned with "the improvement in method of political reasoning and research."<sup>46</sup> While search for the improved methods subsequently resulted in the introduction of the statistical technique and the technique of case study in political science, there was little change in the method of "political reasoning" and "analysis." In his later years, Merriam lost much of his early enthusiasm for empirical studies and reverted to a style of writing and reasoning which is not different from that found in works of political theorists written before his quest for new approaches. He dealt with the same problems, employed the same method, and came to much the same conclusions as many of the democratic philosophers in the long tradition of Western political thought.

Merriam's return to the moral approach of traditional political philosophy was no isolated event. It was rather a reflection of the general movement of thought in our time. On the first level, it was an indication of the loss of vitality of the movement toward a science of politics. On a deeper level, it was an expression of the decline of the influence of positivism on political studies and a revival of the moral, ethical, and religious approaches in political reasoning.

The reasons for the loss of vitality on the part of the movement toward a science of politics are not far to seek. From the very beginning, the movement rested on an insecure foundation. The first prerequisite for a successful movement toward a science of politics is a precise, articulate concept of science and scientific method grounded upon a systematically formulated philosophy of science. It was precisely such a concept of science and such a philosophy of science that the movement lacked. This lack is nowhere more vividly illustrated than in the proceedings of the three meetings of the National Conference on the Science of Politics. The conferences were a great success as an organizational effort and did give impetus to empirical

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>45</sup> C. E. Merriam, "The Education of C. E. Merriam," in L. D. White (ed.), *The Future of Government* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941), 10.

<sup>46</sup> *New Aspects of Politics*, 14.

research in political study. But a careful reader of the proceedings cannot but be impressed with the embarrassment of the participants of a conference on a science of politics who lack a precise concept of science and scientific method grounded upon a systematic philosophy of science.<sup>47</sup> What is more significant, such a concept and such a philosophy are nowhere to be found in the writings of Merriam or other leaders of the movement. It was inevitable that, built upon an insecure foundation, the movement be uncertain of its direction; beset by doubts of its own significance and validity, its vitality was soon lost. It is to remedy this deficiency that political scientists like Harold Lasswell have recently sought to join forces with logical positivism.<sup>48</sup>

The movement toward a science of politics suffered not only from the lack of a secure foundation but also from its inability to surmount other inherent difficulties. The first was the difficulty of constructing a systematic, scientific theory and the inability of the political "scientists" to construct such a theory. The chief contribution made by the political scientists to the study of politics is the introduction of two new techniques of research: the statistical method and the "case-study" method. Both of these "methods" are primarily techniques for the gathering and analysis of facts, and cannot go beyond the discovery of empirical uniformities among facts. Insofar as the formulation of a theory is concerned, they are totally impotent. Hence, insofar as the logical procedures involved in the elaboration of a theoretical system are concerned, there is actually very little difference between the newer efforts at building a theory—such as Merriam's *Political Power* and Lasswell's *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*—and the traditional results, with the possible exception of a declared or undeclared intention on the part of the political "scientists" to abstain from passing ultimate value judgments. While these theoretical studies make interesting reading and have widespread popular appeal, there is nothing in them which can properly be called a new contribution in method. They are in no significant way more "scientific" than the traditional ones. As a result, political and social scientists have been able to discuss the logical criteria of truly scientific social theories but so far have been unable to cite concrete examples. Lasswell's recent work, *Power and Society*, constitutes a novel attempt to establish a theoretical system. But for all its methodological sophistications, it presents to its reader—as Lasswell himself emphasized—an approach to the task of theory construction rather than a unified theory.

<sup>47</sup> To cite one instance, the summary of the first conference reported: "The first two days of the discussion, the groups seemed unable to visualize their problems. There was an impulse to get away from the questions of method and to stray into the field of general prudence, opinions and speculations."—*American Political Science Review*, XVIII (1924), 121.

<sup>48</sup> This is particularly evident in Lasswell's introductory chapter in *Power and Society* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950).

Another inherent difficulty was the lack of any unit of measurement in the subject matter under investigation. Although this point was obvious to most people from the very beginning, the measure of success achieved in the field of voting behavior—in contrast to the comparative sterility in other fields, such as the measurement of political attitude—has vividly dramatized this lesson. For, as one author puts it, "Precision is an integral element of criterion of testability."<sup>49</sup> All hypotheses, generalizations, and theories must be sufficiently precise to be determinate, and only determinate hypotheses, generalizations, and theories can be definitely verified or rejected. The availability of unit is one of the main reasons why economics is gradually developing a system of mathematically and statistically demonstrated and confirmed theory, whereas political science has not done so, and cannot do so, unless there is some new and at the present unforeseeable development in the field of method and technique of research.

The nonavailability of unit confronts with a dilemma all efforts to bring political studies up to the level of accuracy of the natural sciences. Let us assume that the central subject matter of political science is political power. There is no readily available unity of political power. A vote cannot be considered a reliable unit. For the meaning of a vote varies with the political framework within which the vote is cast. And even within the same political society, the intensity of feeling, the degree of conviction, and the soundness of judgment are not expressed by the vote; yet all these elements enter into a power situation. Therefore it can be said that power can be described but not measured. Since it cannot be measured, any hypothesis, generalization, or theory about power cannot be sufficiently precise to be determinate nor sufficiently determinate to be conclusively rejected or verified. Thus, the more closely one approaches the central problems and the significant questions of political science, the less he can approximate the degree of precision and accuracy achieved by the natural sciences. Conversely, the more faithful one is to the methodological assumption of the desirability of applying the method of the natural sciences, the farther away he gets from the central problems and significant questions of political science. Happy indeed are those whose flash of insight directs their attention to significant problems which there happens to be a precise method to deal with! But, as the foregoing analysis shows, this area is, in the nature of things, strictly limited in size.

For these reasons, the movement toward a science of politics soon lost its vitality. Since in the United States the attempt to apply the method of the natural sciences to political studies was the main channel through which the distinction between fact judgment and value judgment exerted its in-

<sup>49</sup> Robert Merton, "Sociological Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 471.

fluence on theoretical writings in political science, the loss of the vitality of this movement, plus the loss of the early enthusiasm for science and the method of science, naturally led to a blurring of the distinction and to a return to the moral approach of traditional political philosophy. In the case of Charles E. Merriam, there is an even more specific reason for the reversal of his earlier position. In his early enthusiasm for new ideas and new approaches and his earnest desire to bring about a better type of politics, he was quite impatient with logical niceties. Nowhere can we find a systematic, detailed discussion of the logical distinction between fact judgment and value judgment and of the implication of this distinction for theoretical writings in political science. The philosophical views of Hume and Mill and the methodological views of Weber, Simmel, and Pareto are not discussed at any length. The views of logical positivism are not mentioned. Thus, it would seem that Merriam's assumed distinction between scientific analysis and moral evaluation did not rest on deep philosophical foundations in his own system of thought. He responded to the positivistic current of thought without firmly anchoring his ideas in it and without developing reasoned philosophical convictions in it. So, when he felt a need that could not be satisfied within the confines of this current of thought, his position shifted. This shift was also a reflection of a general change in the climate of opinion in the circles of political science.

The need felt by Merriam and others like him was a practical one. The rise of fascism and naziism and the ensuing world war raised in the minds of men questions of ultimate value, and these have become the central concern of political theorists. Yet these problems fall, by definition, outside the scope of a nonnormative political science. Science and the method of science have nothing to offer for their solution. Nor does positivism, the philosophical foundation of a nonnormative political science, claim to have any answer to them. On the contrary, logical positivism, through its contention that an ultimate value judgment simply expresses an attitude without asserting anything that could be true or false, explicitly denies that there is any rational solution of ultimate value problems. Thus the positivist is a lonely soul who must constantly make decisions of a very personal nature without any assurance whatsoever that the ultimate basis for his decisions is "right" or justified on rational ground.

It is interesting to note that while logical positivism has, in the years since it migrated to the New World, gradually dominated the technical fields of philosophy, challenging not only idealistic metaphysics of every sort but also displacing pragmatism as the dominant form of empiricism, it has made comparatively little headway in the circles of political philosophy, in which the problems of values have become more and more acute. On the contrary,

the influence of positivism on political studies has been, in general, on the decline. Merriam's return to the moral approach of traditional political philosophy is one manifestation of this decline.

His early preoccupation with the improvement of the method of research and the cross-fertilization of various social sciences left him ill-prepared for his later excursion into the field of moral political philosophy. His discussion of the ends of government represents nothing more than a flat declaration of the moral aspirations and ultimate values that he espoused. There is little of the profound philosophical analysis that characterized the best of moral philosophies in the long tradition of political philosophy in the West. It is not even comparable to similar discussions by Lieber, Burgess, and Willoughby. Merriam's *Political Power* as a contribution to scientific analysis is far superior to his *Systematic Politics* as a contribution to political philosophy. It is ironical that the University of Chicago, which was the center for the movement toward a science of politics, should also be the place where Merriam's return to the moral approach of political philosophy was succeeded by the Neo-Thomism of Adler and recently by the natural-law philosophy of Leo Strauss. This change at Chicago is symptomatic of the new shift in the climate of opinion in political studies. Yet in spite of the vacillation of Merriam, the loss of vitality of the movement toward a science of politics, and the decline of the influence of positivism on political studies, one cannot but agree with the following statement of Charles A. Beard, quoted in the frontispiece of Professor David Easton's recent significant work on the methodology of political science, *The Political System*:

No one can deny that the idea is fascinating—the idea of subduing the phenomena of politics to the laws of causation, of penetrating to the mystery of its transformations, of symbolizing the trajectory of its future; in a word, of grasping destiny by the forelock and bringing it prostrate to earth. The very idea is itself worthy of the immortal gods. . . . If nothing ever comes of it, its very existence will fertilize thought and enrich imagination.

# A Changing Cultural Landscape In the Middle Upper Inn Valley

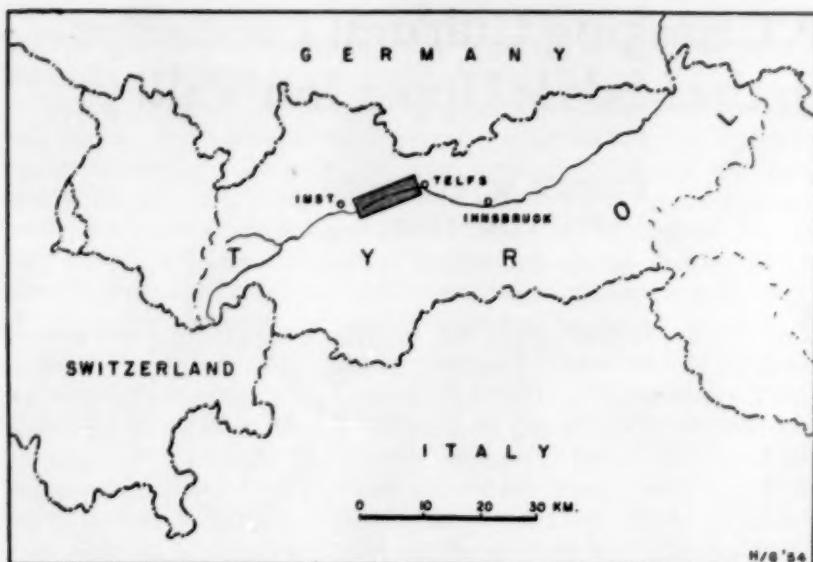
GEORGE W. HOFFMAN  
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

THE VILLAGES of Stams, Mötz, Silz, and Haiming, located between twenty-two to thirty miles west of Innsbruck, in an agricultural region of the Austrian Tyrol, constitute an area that has aroused great interest as a pilot project in co-operative planning and development. But little affected by the Industrial Revolution, bound by economic patterns and cultural customs, many of which have been in existence since Roman times, the Stams-Haiming region presented problems that could be solved only by a complete reversal of the former attitudes and practices of the local population. How they were brought to an awareness of joint responsibility in any basic undertaking and to an acceptance of technological change is the subject of this paper. It would be impossible to understand how enormous has been the reversal of attitudes and practices of these strongly independent peasants without understanding the history that has engendered them. Hence, various aspects of their culture, from the thirteenth century to the present, including the problems arising from staunch adherence to customs and laws, population increases, recurrent droughts, and technological changes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have been treated in an effort to show how these factors finally impressed upon the people the need for regional planning.

## *The Problem*

Heights in the west, running diagonal to the Inn trench, hold back rain-bearing winds from this region; the steep slopes of the Tschirgant Range block the entry of northwest weather. The Stams and Silzer oak forests, running diagonally across the Inn Valley, modify east winds, and from the steep

NOTE.—Another paper, the emphasis of which is upon the technological developments that have taken place in the Stams-Haiming region, is being published by the author under the title "Regional Planning in the Inn Valley of Austria" (*Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XI, 1955 [1954 Meeting], Part III, 181-88). Information presented in the present paper, the emphasis of which is upon the historical and cultural background of the region, was collected in that area during field work extending over a period of several months in the first part of 1953. This field work was made possible by grants received from the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation) and the Social Science Research Council. Cartographic and photographic aid from the Graduate Research Institute of the University of Texas is also acknowledged.



*Orientation map of area*

mountain meadows and forests to the south the *Föhn*, known among the people as "corn (maize)-roaster" (*Türkenröster*), influences the general climatic conditions of this area. Average precipitation, only twenty-nine inches, is very unevenly distributed. The sun shines on an average of eighty-four days—in comparison with forty-six days in Bregenz, located in the Alpine foreland. The area is representative of the dry, warm, bright interior Alpine valleys.

The slopes at Stams and Mötz are of diluvial origin, and the valley floor consists of alluvium. Various ridges make it possible to trace an earlier course of the Inn River. Stone deposits and rich hollows alternate with shallow-to-deep soil horizons. Soils are sand to loamy-sandy in the valley and sandy loam on the slopes. These soils are relatively easy to work but do not hold water very well. The available water has been distributed by irrigation canals since shortly after this region was settled. The differences between irrigated and nonirrigated areas are considerable, and local ordinances as early as 1542 regulated the use of the land for farming and animal husbandry.<sup>1</sup>

The region is located in the Middle Upper Inn Valley, the border between

<sup>1</sup> Otto Stoltz, *Geschichtskunde der Gewässer Tirols*, Schlern-Schriften No. 32 (Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1936), 307-12; and *Die Gesamtmeilioration Stams-Mötz-Silz-Haiming* (Amt der Tiroler Landesregierung, Amt für Landwirtschaft, 1951), 8. The former work is hereafter cited as *Geschichtskunde*, the latter as *Die Gesamtmeilioration*.

the Upper and Lower Inn Valley being clearly marked since Roman times. This border was mentioned in the thirteenth century as running from the mouth of the Melach River and along the foot of the Martinswand, five miles west of Innsbruck.<sup>2</sup> The Romans had counties of the Upper and of the Lower Inn Valley. In the Middle Ages these became the court districts of Sonnenburg (Innsbruck) and Hörtenberg (Telfs). But perhaps of even greater importance is a line of division running across the watershed between the Ötz and Pitz valleys, crossing the Inn trench between Silz and Roppen and continuing via Imst to the crest of the Tschirgant, a line which distinguishes between two cultural entities within the Upper Inn Valley. East of this line, German roots in the names of settlements are more numerous as compared with the Illyric and Rhaeto-Romanic names west of this line, the district of Silz and Imst being in marked contrast to each other. Differences in house types and in the physical characteristics of the people become noticeable. More of the pre-German characteristics appear west of this



The Middle Upper Inn Valley

line.<sup>3</sup> The original settlers of this area, Rhaeto-Romanic people, preferred settling in villages made up of houses irregularly clustered, without any definite plan (*Haufendorfern*); hence, widely scattered single farmhouses are

<sup>2</sup> Stoltz, *Geschichtskunde*, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Otto Stoltz, *Rechtsgeschichte des Bauernstandes und der Landwirtschaft in Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Bozen, Verlag Ferrari-Auer, 1949), 435–45, cited hereafter as *Rechtsgeschichte*.

relatively few. As a result of living very close together, fields at a distance became a normal development. To this must be added the Roman-law interpretation regarding the partitioning of land and soil, and the complete partitioning of farms, houses, and forests.<sup>4</sup>

### *The Land and the People at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*

The region from Stams to Haiming was already densely settled in the sixteenth century. Haiming, Silz, Mötz, and Stams each had between three hundred and seven hundred inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> These villages, mentioned as having tax-paying inhabitants in the Tax Register of 1315, which was kept by the Court of St. Petersberg, all belonged to the court district of the Cistercian monastery of Stams—founded in 1275—or the court district of St. Petersberg, later to become the district of Silz.<sup>6</sup> These villages were governed either by mayors or by village elders, who, in turn, took orders from the local court, church officials, or provincial ducal authorities. Regardless of their own status—whether free or belonging to the feudal lords—all the people participated in the administration of their community as committee members, lawyers, jurymen, and tax collectors.<sup>7</sup> Records and detailed research by Stoltz and others verify the fact that in most instances the new political divisions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries followed the old established court districts,<sup>8</sup> which since the twelfth century had served as political, financial, and administrative districts, as well as court, and in many instances, church districts.

The compactly built villages were inhabited by the farm population of the region. Imst to the west and Telfs to the east served as supply-and-market centers. The houses gradually changed from wood to a stone or brick foundation.<sup>9</sup> The use of brick, especially for the living quarters and the kitchen, spread rapidly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, not only because of

<sup>4</sup> Historically this region does not form a unit. Settlers originally owed allegiance to the monastery of Stams and the castles of Klamm and St. Petersberg.

<sup>5</sup> Estimate based on information obtained from the various cadasters in the Staatsarchiv Innsbruck and the publications by Stoltz, Ulmer, Wopfner and others, quoted in this study.

<sup>6</sup> Otto Stoltz, "Abhandlungen zum Historischen Atlas der österreichischen Alpenländer XV. Politisch-historische Landesbeschreibung von Tirol" (First part: Nordtirol), *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, CVII (1926), 463-511, and *Historischer Atlas der österreichischen Alpenländer (Landesgerichtskarten)* (Vienna, Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910), cited hereafter as "Abhandlungen zum Historischen Atlas." Mötz was called at that time "Metsch," Silz, "Silze," and Haiming, "Haiminge."

<sup>7</sup> Stoltz, "Abhandlungen zum Historischen Atlas," 278, according to provincial laws of 1532.

<sup>8</sup> Stoltz, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 24. Stoltz also cited the reports of the Venetian ambassador traveling through Tyrol in 1435. See also Marx Sittich von Wolkenstein, *Landesbeschreibung von Südtirol* (aus der Zeit um 1600), Festgabe zum 60. Lebensjahr Hermann Wopfners. Schlier-Schriften No. 34 (Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1936), 62 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Stoltz (*Rechtsgeschichte*, 49-53) briefly discusses the origin of the settlements in the main valleys of Tirol.

its greater safety but also because of the increasing shortage of timber, due, in part, to restrictions of feudal landlords or provincial rulers to reserve forests for their own purposes. The earliest Alpine single-unit house here had been large, a wooden or frame structure of two stories, usually with a balcony on the second floor and an overhanging roof, which was often protected with heavy stones. Under a single roof were the living quarters, kitchen, stable, and barn.<sup>10</sup> A few isolated farms are still to be found on the slopes and terraces of the Silzerberg and the Tschirgant. These farm-houses, often very small, extend above three thousand feet. Grazing pastures (*alms*) were sometimes found on the slopes of the mountains bordering the Inn Valley on the north and south at altitudes above three thousand feet.

Fields of each village were divided into several strips—on an average, ten—and each individual farm received some. In Tyrol these strips were called *Gestösse* (*Gsteas*), and in the dialect sometimes *Ridel*.<sup>11</sup> Records showing the number of fireplaces, and later the farms and their size, are available in the *Urbaren*,<sup>12</sup> dating back to the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>13</sup> but the exact location and description of individual property pieces were not available until the taxation registers under Empress Maria Theresa in 1775.<sup>14</sup> The custom of recording changes in the ownership of farm property was introduced in Tyrol at the beginning of the sixteenth century and records have been kept since that time in books by the local courts, a custom not adopted by other Austrian provinces until the eighteenth century. Individual farmers were closely bound to the community and by the laws which the community promulgated for performing certain field duties, e.g., the time of harvest, grazing periods for the cattle, distribution of manure on the fields, etc. The use of the fields, under the three-field system, was still determined by the community as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century. The period of vintage was also prescribed by the community and changes had to be approved by provincial ducal judges.<sup>15</sup> *Egarten*—the use

<sup>10</sup> Otto Rauter, "Das Bauernhaus im Gau Tirol und Vorarlberg," *Schriften für neues Bauernstum* (Berlin, Verlag Deutsche Landbuchhandlung, 1943).

<sup>11</sup> "*Ridel*" means making arable and can be traced to "*renten*" or "*roden*."

<sup>12</sup> "*Urbard*" are records showing the properties of a feudal lord and the duties to be performed by his subjects.

<sup>13</sup> A tax list for the court of St. Petersberg is published in Karl Dörner, "Eine Steuerliste des Gerichtes St. Petersberg (Sils) von 1325," in *Quellen zur Steuer-Bevölkerungs-und Sippengeschichte des Landes Tirol im 13., 14., und 15. Jahrhundert*, Festgabe zum 80. Lebensjahr Oswalds Redlichs. Schlern-Schriften No. 44 (Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1939), 87–92, cited hereafter as *Quellen zur Steuer*.

<sup>14</sup> Even the tax descriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give the property only as a whole; it is therefore impossible to record partitions of property. See Stoltz, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 26–29; also Otto Stoltz, "Zur Geschichte der Landwirtschaft in Tirol," *Tiroler Heimat*, III (1930), 93–139.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

of one and the same field over a period of years, first as arable land, later for meadows—was common in these communities.

Irrigation was generally necessary and was practiced in the whole area.<sup>16</sup> Treaties during various periods of the sixteenth century mention the amount of water to be drawn from Ötztaler Ache and the Ambach, responsibility for upkeep of ditches, and the payments for enlarging this irrigation system.<sup>17</sup> The first part of the sixteenth century saw the first drainage work in the grassy plains of the Inn River result in additions to the meadows and fields of the individual communities. Dikes were erected against the floods of the Inn, and the monks from the monastery of Stams led in drainage and irrigation projects.<sup>18</sup>

Haiming, Silz, Mötz, and Stams each owned communal forests, but these were under the strict supervision of the provincial forest officials. These officials prescribed the amount of timber to be cut by the individual communities, which was based on their estimated needs for heating, building, and repair. Regulations about uses, considerably tightened since the end of the fourteenth century, were one of the reasons for the dissatisfaction among the farmers, expressed both in petitions and at the large protest-meetings attended by local farmers in Innsbruck in 1525.

Partitions of fields and farmhouses in this region were fairly common. The original seventy-two-*Star*<sup>19</sup> area farm has been partitioned several times, and records of this century often indicate one-quarter or even one-sixteenth farm.<sup>20</sup> If new parcels of arable land could be added to individual holdings, several farm families could make their living, but when additional land was not available, in some cases individual holdings could not supply even one family. Such partitioning resulted in much poverty, repercussions of which were still felt in the twentieth century. By 1404 regulations had been issued by various feudal lords, making partitions of farm land dependent upon their permission,<sup>21</sup> but in many areas the old practice continued, especially in those lands west of the earlier-mentioned Ötz Valley-Imst line.

Rye, barley, oats, and wheat, in the order given, were the cereals most

<sup>16</sup> Stolz, *Die Gesamtmeilioration*, 8.

<sup>17</sup> After the people of Silz complained to Archduke Maximilian in 1612 about the irresponsibility of the people of Haiming in not taking proper care of their irrigation ditches, and demanded payment for damages, a commission finally agreed in 1615 on one irrigation system for the whole area between Haiming and Silz. The work done in the seventeenth century lasted until the middle of the twentieth century, a proof of the excellent techniques used.

<sup>18</sup> Stolz, *Geschichtskunde*, 273-84.

<sup>19</sup> "Starland" equals the area on which one *Star* of rye could be sown, about 7,450 sq. ft. This equals approximately a fifth of a *Jauch*. The Tyrolean *Jauch* has 1,000 *Klafter* or 0.4 hectare (1 ha. equals 2.471 acres). *Jauch* is the common measurement for arable land, *Morgen* for meadows, forests, and pasture.

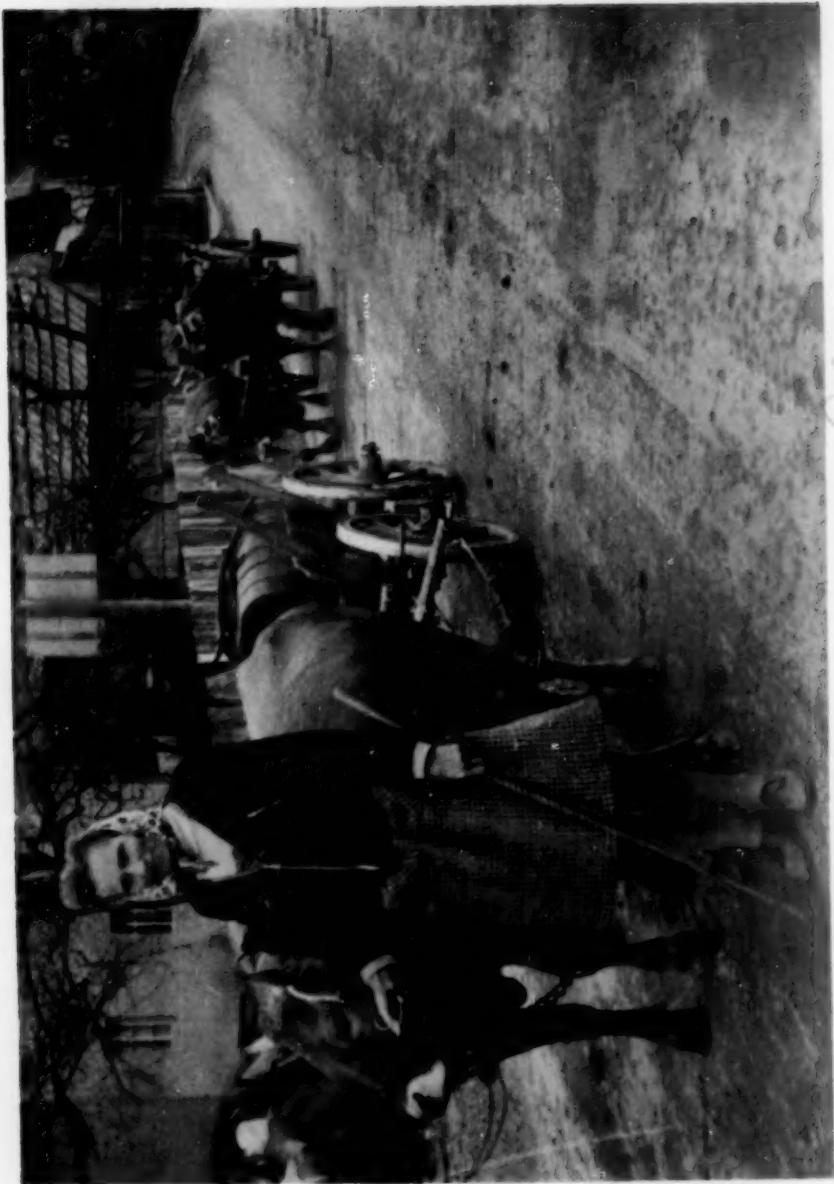
<sup>20</sup> Various authors, *Quellen zur Steuer*, 55, 89, 92.

<sup>21</sup> Stolz, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 434 ff.



*The Inn Valley, looking toward the east*

*Primitive method of irrigation still in use*



popular in the sixteenth century. Animal husbandry was little known at this time, and milk and cheese were produced only for the farmer's use.<sup>22</sup> Taxes were paid in cereals, and surpluses were usually bartered. Farmers were able to make for themselves most of the tools needed for their work. Dopsch and others report that the tools were also used to pay rent.<sup>23</sup> Women were occupied with the spinning of flax and wool, flax being quite plentiful in the nearby Ötz Valley. Wool was woven into a coarse woolen waterproof cloth (*Loden*) and was worn by men for both everyday garments and for Sunday clothes. Some farmers earned additional income by selling their home produce to traveling buyers, a means of livelihood which had become widespread during the late Middle Ages.

The position of farmers in the Middle Upper Inn Valley at the beginning of the fifteenth century, like the general position of farmers in North Tyrol, had considerably declined since its favorable economic status at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Complaints in the form of petitions to the provincial ruler were leveled against the extended rights of the feudal lords—both secular and ecclesiastic. Prices for cereals declined and, as a result of overpartitioning of farm land and houses, income of individuals was reduced. Owing to these developments, surplus farming population sought employment in the salt works of Hall, seven miles east of Innsbruck, the silver mines near Schwaz, in the Lower Inn Valley, and several other mines throughout the valleys of Tyrol. Also the growing cities, particularly Innsbruck, gave employment to an ever-increasing number of farmers. These small farms, especially those at high altitudes, often could not produce sufficient to support their owner, and were sold by him to financially stronger people, who, in turn, combined them with their own holdings (*Zugüter*).<sup>24</sup>

The people of the region had a reputation for being very conservative. Changes affecting other villages were slow to impress themselves here. Such conservatism can perhaps be attributed to the location of this region with regard to the main transportation arteries of North Tyrol at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The main routes did not follow the Inn Valley between Telfs and Imst, and even though bridges are reported to have spanned

<sup>22</sup> Hans Telbis, *Zur Geographie des Getreidesbaues in Nordtirol*, Schlern-Schriften No. 58 (Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1948), 34–35. Telbis discusses the history of today's cereals in North Tyrol. Wheat is the oldest in use, followed shortly by barley; rye and oats were introduced in North Tyrol during the first and second century.

<sup>23</sup> Alfons Dopsch, *Die Ältere Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte in den Alpenländern Österreichs*, Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Series A (Oslo, H. Aschehoug & Co., [W. Nygaard], 1930), 121 cited hereafter as *Die Ältere Wirtschafts*; also Hermann Wopfner, "Zur Geschichte des bäuerlichen Hausgewerbes in Tirol," in *Tiroler Wirtschaft in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Festgabe zur 100-Jahrfeier der Tiroler Handelskammer, Band I, Schlern-Schriften No. 77 (Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1951), 203–32.

<sup>24</sup> Dopsch (*Die Ältere Wirtschafts*, 130–31) also reports provincial regulations against these customs.

the Inn near Haiming as early as 1320 and Mötz after 1472, they served local traffic exclusively, and at Mötz they connected Stams with the road between Telfs and the Fernpass.<sup>25</sup> The road from Telfs continued, crossing at Haiming to continue to Karres and Imst. The mouth of the Ötztaler Ache, where the main bridge crosses today, offered difficult bridge-building prob-



lems because of constant floods and an ever-changing riverbed. The Telfs-to-Imst region via the Inn Valley was not important in the transportation pattern of the Tyrol until the road across Arlberg Pass was built by Maria Theresa in the eighteenth century.

The Inn River played a minor role in the region. Timber had been rafted as early as the thirteenth century, and this method of transportation grew in importance when timber was needed in increasing quantities for the salt works in Hall. Raft transportation started in Mötz or Telfs.<sup>26</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, local communities began to show interest in building dikes along the Inn, but not until Maria Theresa's time was actual river-regulation work carried out by means of a general plan. By then the Inn

<sup>25</sup> Stoltz, *Geschichtskunde*, 422-23.

<sup>26</sup> Eugen Hauf, "Die Umgestaltung des Inn Stromgebietes durch den Menschen," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in München*, XXXVII (1952), 9-180; also Otto Stoltz, "Zur Verkehrsgeschichte des Inntales in 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," *Veröffentlichungen des Museum Ferdinandeum*, No. 12 (1932), 69-109.

River, as a means of transportation, had begun to lose its importance to the newly built roads.

### *Increasing Population*

Little information is available on the exact number of people in the individual communities during the Middle Ages, even though the records of the monastery at Stams show that at various times as many as thirty-one different fireplaces (one for each farm home) were recorded for tax-paying purposes. On the other hand, a large part of the property of the monastery was located outside our area of investigation. Silz recorded at the end of the fifteenth century as many as twenty-one fireplaces. We therefore can only estimate the approximate population curve throughout most of 1500-1800.

One fact which permits deductions is the extent of permanent occupancy of farmhouses in higher altitudes and the number of partitionings of farm properties, including houses. Wopfner<sup>27</sup> believes that most Alpine valleys during the sixteenth century had an overpopulation in relation to the production and production techniques of this period. The Upper Inn Valley, according to him, was in a particularly difficult position. This was brought about partly because the population increased faster than the unused, or only extensively used, land could be brought under intensive cultivation or than cultivated land could increase its output. Also, the Thirty Years' War, with its devastation of small rural settlements, never penetrated the Tyrol, and the population therefore was not reduced by war, though surplus population during the second half of the seventeenth century did emigrate to other countries. People from the Tyrol went especially to those areas depopulated by the ravages of the Thirty Years' War—Pfalz, Saar, Württemberg, and Franconia; later, emigrants moved to the Rhineland and other parts of west and southern Germany. The population of the region increased but slowly during most of the century and, according to figures that later became available, reached about three thousand people at the Theresian Census of 1754.<sup>28</sup>

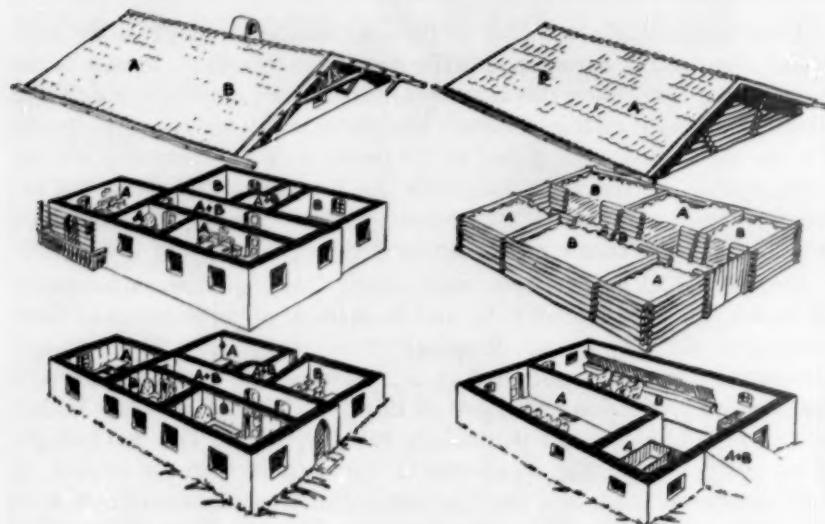
One practice in wide use in different areas of the Upper Inn Valley was the yearly journey, referred to as "*Zug der Schwabenkinder*."<sup>29</sup> Between roughly 1625 and the beginning of the nineteenth century, each spring a large number of children between the ages of eight and sixteen went to

<sup>27</sup> Wopfner, "Zur Geschichte des bäuerlichen," 202-203.

<sup>28</sup> Information supplied to the author by local authorities in Imst, Silz, and Stams. Census figures were available for only whole church or court districts; due to the fact that the area under study never formed a political unit, all population figures are estimated.

<sup>29</sup> Ferdinand Ulmer, *Die Schwabenkinder, ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Westtiroler Bergbauerngebiets* (Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1943). Stoltz (*Rechtsgeschichte*, 477), citing others, mentions a figure of twenty-six hundred people for the Upper Inn Valley itself.

Swabia to work for rich farmers and returned in winter. Excess population, the partition of farms, and the resultant smaller incomes forced parents to seek this source of extra income. Only the industrialization in Tyrol late in



*Examples of house partitions*

the nineteenth century and finally the First World War stopped this movement completely. Adults with a knowledge of various trades went to various surrounding countries, returning home once every two or three years. With the beginning of industrialization and continued emigration during the nineteenth century, the problem of surplus population slowly disappeared, and many unproductive farm units in higher altitudes were permanently

TABLE 1  
Growth of Population, 1910-51

	1910	1923	1934	1939	1951
Haiming . . . . .	1,206	1,270	1,386	1,505	2,700*
Silz . . . . .	1,240	1,212	1,462	1,339	1,537
Stams . . . . .	361	543	640	689	824

\* The large increase in Haiming between 1939-51 is due to an influx of refugees (940), who were quartered in barracks. However, owing to emigration to overseas countries, the number is slowly decreasing. A few refugees from South Tyrol still live in all three of these communities, though some have already returned to their former homes.

Source: "Die Bevölkerung Tirols, 1910-1948," *Landesstelle für Statistik und Landeskunde*, Nr. 5, Innsbruck, 1948; also *Volkszählung in Österreich*, Part II, 1951; Wien, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, 1952.

abandoned, their owners seeking employment in the nearby cities—Imst, Telfs, and especially Innsbruck. Table 1 shows the 1910-51 growth of

population for the three village areas (*Gemeinden*) of the administrative district of Imst.

### *The Problem of the Partitioned Agricultural Properties*

It has been stated that one of the great problems was the continuous partitioning of farm land and houses, which, owing to increased population pressure, had by the fifteenth century led to the establishment of small, often unproductive, farm units. Even though the feudal lords or provincial authorities tried at various times to halt this development, due to tradition and economic facts, especially in the Illyric-Rhaeto-Romanic part of Tyrol, the situation grew worse as time went on. Many farm laws and agricultural statistics could be cited to explain the historic development which led to these conditions. Stoltz, for instance, in his monumental work on the juridical position of the farmers in Tyrol and Vorarlberg and others have discussed this in great detail. But since the purpose of this study is to show the changed cultural landscape in the Middle Upper Inn Valley, a breakdown indicating the constant shrinkage of the old seventy-two-*Star* farms is more useful. Figures available for Silz, dated 1740, show the occupants' relationship (Table 2) and show the comparison with reference to developments by 1948.

TABLE 2

Partitioned Occupancy, Silz, 1740-1948

Year	Total No. of Houses	No. of Family Units per House					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1740	94	34	49	7	3	..	1
1948	134	84	48	3	..	..	..

Source: Stoltz, *Die Gesamtmeilioration*, 3. This compilation indicates that new houses have not been partitioned as much as formerly.

Partitioning of the houses was quite irregular and made life for the occupants difficult, especially if certain facilities—the kitchen, for instance—were used by all occupants. Though the early occupants may have been related to each other, I visited many houses where the present occupants are virtually strangers. As a result of constant subdividing, the 2,660 acres of farming area in the Stams-Haiming region belonged to 596 owners in 1948, prior to redistribution according to the new plan. Table 3 shows the 1948 distribution of the agricultural properties.

But the truly remarkable thing is that the 394 farms of more than 1.24 acres were partitioned into 5,100 pieces, which means that on an average, each farmer had 13 separate pieces of land. To this must be added the 90

very small farms, so that in reality many farmers in the Stams-Haiming area had as many as 30 different pieces of land, some at distances of as much as 3.3 miles from each other. An additional problem was the ownership by one farmer of plots in different villages, a condition especially common between Silz and Mötz. In spite of these partitions, no direct roads were built, and as a result a large number of crossing and connecting roads had to be

TABLE 3  
Division of Agricultural Properties

<i>Size of Farms in Acres</i>	<i>No. of Farms</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Less than 1.24	202	Farming only incidental
1.24- 2.47	90	Farming only incidental
2.47- 4.94	120	Farming, but with additional income
4.94-12.35	165	Farms
More than 12.35	19	Largest farms
Total	596	

Sources: Stoltz, *Die Gesamtmeilioration*, 5.

legally established, disturbing the land use. Ownership of forests was also most complicated, especially since at the beginning of the eighteenth century communal usage largely ceased. Here, also, partitioning was common, and individual portions were extremely restricted, with the community forest of 525 acres distributed among 392 farmers.<sup>30</sup> After repeated droughts, it became evident that the people would listen to any reasonable proposal to save them from this untenable position.

#### *The Changing Agricultural Landscape*

As mentioned earlier, rye, barley, oats, and wheat were the cereals planted in the Middle Inn Valley at the end of the sixteenth century. The importation of maize into Tyrol was of great importance, especially in the Middle and Upper Inn Valley, quickly replacing rye as the leading cereal produced. The cadastral surveys of the court of Hörtenberg (Telfs) mention maize for the first time as being in use over a large area by 1625 and from the books of St. Petersberg it was indicated that as early as 1585 maize was brought into the area as a wife's dowry.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Stoltz, *Die Gesamtmeilioration*, 7-8, 21-22.

<sup>31</sup> Telbis, *Zur Geographie*, 29-33; Stoltz, "Zur Geschichte der Landwirtschaft," 93-139; Hermann Wopfner, "Bäuerliche Siedlung und Wirtschaft," in *Tirol—Land und Natur, Volk und Geschichte, Geistiges Leben* (Munich, F. Bruckmann, A. G., 1933), 207-304, cited

Potatoes were not introduced until the end of the eighteenth century, but they became of great importance as food, partly because they could be planted at altitudes above the upper limits of cereal cultivation. According to Stoltz and others, by the 1830's they were already widely but irregularly used. So far as the Middle Upper Inn Valley was concerned, the beginning of potato-planting coincided with the greatest expansion of cereal cultivation, which after 1830 dropped considerably, as in other parts of Tyrol.<sup>32</sup> The population increased slowly but steadily, and had reached its highest level at about this period, partly because of decreasing emigration possibilities.<sup>33</sup> When the region had reached the limit in available land for cultivation, potatoes were introduced at the expense of cereal products. Between 1836-1900—the approximate beginning of intensive agricultural production—cereal acreage decreased as much as 40 per cent in the Middle Upper Inn Valley, but a large part of the decrease was due to its replacement in higher altitudes by potatoes, not to any basic acreage change in the valley floor.

The real reasons for this decrease are closely connected with the changing transportation situation: the opening of the Innsbruck-Kufstein railroad in 1858, the Brenner railway in 1867, and the Arlberg railway, which has crossed the entire Stams-Haiming area since 1884.<sup>34</sup> This brought about cheaper importation of foreign cereals and had an important bearing on the reduced cereal acreage, especially maize. With decreasing prices and a shortage of agricultural workers—noticeable with increased industrialization—the farmer shifted from cereal production to grazing and animal husbandry. Growth of the urban centers and new means of transportation enabled him to sell milk, cheese, and meat at better prices, and his needs in flour and fodder were relatively inexpensive. With greatly increased cereal yields after 1900<sup>35</sup> it was possible to obtain from a small acreage sufficient grain for the

hereafter as *Tirol—Land und Natur*; also E. Mayr, "Die Ausbreitung des Getreidebaues, die Anbau-und Erntezeiten und die Fruchtfolgen in Nordtirol und Vorarlberg," *Veröffentlichungen des Museum Ferdinandeaum*, No. 15 (1936), 1-27. A large literature can be cited not only discussing the direction maize took before coming to Tyrol, but also analyzing reasons for its local name, "*Türkischer Weizen*." Telbis cites the most important writings and presents conclusive evidence that maize entered North Tyrol from the Brenner Pass and South Tyrol.

<sup>32</sup> Telbis, *Zur Geographie*, 50-51.

<sup>33</sup> Hermann Wopfner, "Die Güterverteilung und Überbevölkerung tirolischer Landbezirke im 16. 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Südostdeutsche Forschungen*, Jahrgang 3 (1938), 202.

<sup>34</sup> For a general discussion, see Otto Stoltz, "Zollwesen und Handelsverkehr in Tirol in alter Zeit," in *Tiroler Wirtschaft in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Festgabe zur 100-Jahrfeier der Tiroler Handelskammer, Band I. Schlerm-Schriften No. 77 (Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1951), 53-76; also Franz Egert, "100 Jahre Tiroler Verkehrswirtschaft," *ibid.*, 354-91.

<sup>35</sup> Total cereal production for 1926-35 was approximately the same in quantity as for 1891-1900, though the acreage had decreased in the Middle Upper Inn Valley by as much as 19 per cent.

farmer and his family and a surplus for cash income. But foreign import held this down automatically. The acreage freed in this way was used for potatoes and fodder (rape, alfalfa, and clover). Table 4 shows the distribution of grain cultivation in the district of Imst in 1943, but attention is again drawn to the fact that the village boundaries include sections in higher altitudes and other areas not considered in this paper.

TABLE 4

Distribution of Grain Cultivation, District of Imst, 1943  
(Figures in percentage of total arable land)

Court District	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Maize	Total Acreage
Haiming	15.1	11.8	3.6	1.2	23.3	55.0
Silz	14.1	14.4	0.5	—	20.2	49.2
Stams	13.6	14.2	3.7	0.5	18.3	50.3

Source: Agricultural Statistics of the Ostmark, 1943 (privately distributed).

Since shortly before the Second World War this development has declined. Milk, eggs, cheese, and meat products have been increasing in importance, with the exception of a short period after the war, due to government policies controlling imports and guaranteeing prices. Acreage in cereals has increased slightly, but, on the whole, increased production in maize, wheat, rye, and potatoes, as well as fodder crops, is being brought about by greater yields and modern technological developments.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Social Status of the Farmer and Some of His Customs*

Serfdom has not existed in Tyrol since the fifteenth century. The farmer, like all other people in the land, was subject to the orders and laws of the Dukes of Tyrol.<sup>37</sup> Certain rights, such as election of their own administrators for their communities, as well as representation on the provincial diet as a quasi-fourth group, were well established in Tyrol, which improved the position of the peasant very much in comparison with those in other Alpine countries. Clever policies by the peasants in taking the side of the Duke during the fifteenth-century wars made it possible for them to get his backing against the local feudal lords. By the end of the seventeenth century the peasants had gained considerable security.

Their position was further greatly improved after the Revolution of 1848-49, when the All-German Parliament, meeting in Frankfurt, decided on cancellation of most of the debts on farms. Even though the peasants

<sup>36</sup> From discussions with farmers in various parts of the Inn Valley.

<sup>37</sup> Other Austrian provinces did not abolish serfdom until the edict of Emperor Joseph II in 1787.

had to pay one-third of these old-established debts over a period of forty years, the whole procedure was completed successfully, and for the first time in history the farms actually belonged to the peasants and were not only for use by them.<sup>28</sup>

The social standing of the peasant, naturally dependent to a certain degree upon the size and wealth of his farmholdings, had been considerably improved since the fifteenth century. Various reports admonished him not to dress too elaborately, church edicts set forth the limitations of drinking on certain days and curtailed his eating habits at festivals, etc. On the other hand, church festivals, such as Christmas, Lent, Palm Sunday, Easter, etc., were and are celebrated, especially in the rural communities, with much pomp and ceremony. Even pre-Christian customs and old forgotten legends were resurrected in the seventeenth century and became the justification for entertainment and frolic for many communities or were combined with church celebrations. Mention should be made here of the old celebration of the *Schellerlaufen* (bell ringers), which was and still is so popular in Imst, Telfs, and nearby Nassereith. This custom, celebrating the passing of winter, has been observed in these villages since 1670. Old Man Winter, in the form of a bear, is kicked around until he is finally killed. Every half-forgotten legend, every half-remembered superstition of Tyrol has been woven into the pageantry. The basis for the *Schellerlaufen*—the *Grassausläuten* (ringing for grass)—and other similar customs is closely tied to the land and gives a vivid impression of the people's love for frolic and entertainment after a day of hard work—something for which Tyrolean peasants are well known.<sup>29</sup>

#### *The Industrial Age, Two Wars, and the Need for Community Planning*

The Stams-Haiming region was until very recently only indirectly affected by the industrial expansion that has been taking place since the end of the eighteenth century. Its people first sought employment in nearby enterprises; later they moved to Innsbruck and the mines and factories of the Lower Inn Valley. The men from the area were in demand for their ability in metal work and carpentering and for their artistic ingenuity. Proof of these abilities is the large number of small craftsmen who farmed for incidental income or vice versa. When, during the nineteenth century, more and more craftsmen were needed in the increasing number of factories all over the

<sup>28</sup> Stoltz, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 142 ff.; Dopsch, *Die Ältere Wirtschafts*, 118–20, 140–57; also Josef Buchinger, *Der Bauer in der Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Österreichs* (Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1952). Buchinger's book is interesting and of value for the over-all picture, but there are errors in some details.

<sup>29</sup> Hermann Wopfner, "Entstehung und Wesen des tirolischen Volkstum," in *Tirol—Land und Natur*, 179–91.

province and neighboring countries, many moved away, selling their farm-holdings.

The beginning of industries in Tyrol can generally be dated from the second half of the eighteenth century. To judge from letters available and official documents now in the archives at Vienna and Innsbruck, Tyrol in 1770 must already have been an area with many new enterprises, which were encouraged by the provincial government and Maria Theresa. The new road-building program under this enlightened ruler of Tyrol and Austria—actually the first one since Roman times<sup>40</sup>—contributed to increased trade of the whole province. According to records a flax- and cotton-weaving factory was busily at work in Imst, giving nearly seventeen hundred people an opportunity to earn their living, most of them in their homes. A new textile factory in Telfs had just received help from the Austrian government in the form of customs releases.<sup>41</sup>

It was a period of important transit trade, the building of big inns along the more important roads, and the establishment of many new enterprises.

The Stams-Haiming region was still apart from the main roads and therefore was considered a purely agricultural area, a status unchanged to this date. Even the building of the new east-west railroad in 1884 did not change materially the situation in this region. The fast trains have never stopped at these villages except in the tourist season, when tourists, going into the Ötz Valley, change at the station of Ötzal, located in the village boundary of Haiming. Freight trains stop to pick up timber and take a few commuters as far away as Innsbruck.

The last two wars have changed the life of the peasants in the Stams-Haiming region but little. No war industries were built in the area, though the peripheral towns, Telfs and Imst, greatly increased their industrial life. Many people either worked in the nearby factories or served with the German Army. Animals had to be slaughtered excessively during the war because of the shortage of fertilizer and fodder, and additional acreage was planted in cereals. Plans were laid for a new power plant with a generating station, but the plant was built outside the region (near Roppen) and only the four transmission lines cross the area. These lines further restrict the arable land.

Three times in the last fifty years drought came to this region and the cry for water became general. Plans for projects were prepared for increasing

<sup>40</sup> Although existing roads were improved, no new roads are recorded in the area of what is today Tyrol. In the eighteenth century the Fern road, the road of the Stilfser Joch, and a road across the Arlberg were built.

<sup>41</sup> Friedrich Walter, "Zur Wirtschaftslage Tirols um 1770," in *Tiroler Wirtschaft in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 257-79; also Adolf Guenther, "Tirols Gewerbe an der Schwelle des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Tiroler Wirtschaft in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 282-304.

the irrigation ditches originally built in the fourteenth century, especially for adding water from the Ötztaler Ache and the Ambach. Plans also called for additional canals to bring water from the Ache underground through the Amberg and distribute it over an area reaching between Haiming and Stams. But financing the project and the problem of the many partitioned pieces of farmholdings were unsurmountable obstacles during the prewar years. The third drought, after the Second World War, was the worst. Irrigation ditches lay dry and the whole agriculture in the region was threatened, even the whole economic life. It was at this time that the Federal Ministry for Agriculture and Forestry, together with the provincial departments, agreed to participate in a new project if the whole area could be included.

Because consolidation of these partitioned farmholdings offered a unique opportunity, various other projects closely connected were incorporated in the general planning for this region. New deep-wells were drilled, new field-and-utility roads were laid out, and property was combined according to communities. Also the compactly built-up areas of the villages were made less dense, and community property was divided into individual farmholdings. Farm houses were built on the left bank of the Inn River where meadows had been in use for many years. A fruit-tree nursery was laid out, and with the help of the ECA a refrigeration plant for fruits and a modern food-storage and processing plant was built near the railroad station of Ötzal. A new textile industry moved into Silz in 1951. The whole area ultimately will be under intensive silo economy. Ensilage (maize and alfalfa) has been suggested as especially valuable for this region.<sup>42</sup>

Out of all these projects a general plan developed for the region. This plan was actually put into operation with the financial help of the federal and provincial government, with community co-operation, and with American-supplied ECA funds. The project was completed and put into operation in 1952, after a construction period of only four years. After constant deterioration for several centuries, the Stams-Haiming region is today one of the most progressive and advanced farm communities in the Alps.

#### *The Middle Upper Inn Valley—a Pilot Project*

This co-operative project was the first such venture in this valley. The problems facing the area had grown through many centuries. Modern technological developments and a newly found unity experienced among its people after the Second World War made the successful completion of this

<sup>42</sup> Stoltz, *Die Gesamtmeilioration*, 8–24. Also in discussions with Oberbaurat Johann Weingarten and Dr. Herbert Thalhammer of the Tiroler Landesregierung; Dr. Franz Fliri, of Baumkirchen, Tirol; village officials in Haiming and Silz, members of the Cistercian monastery of Stams, the manager of the food-storage and processing plant in Ötzal, and farmers in the communities under study.

project possible. The reason for the selection of this area for such an undertaking is obvious. Something new, something daring, had to be undertaken lest a more rapidly declining agricultural production become a certainty. The people of the region were ready to put aside special interests. Various governmental agencies, including the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) of the United States, agreed to co-operate. The basic problem—consolidation of partitioned landholdings, a serious deterrent to progress in many regions of Europe—first had to be voluntarily accepted by the owners of these many individual plots and a few absentee landlords. Once this problem was successfully solved, financial assistance became available to survey soil conditions, increase irrigation facilities, build new farmhouses, introduce experimental orchards, and buy machinery.

Three lessons were learned from this project: (1) awareness of joint responsibility as the basis for any undertaking; (2) willingness on the part of the owners to give up traditional customs: partitioning of farms, forests, and, to a lesser extent, houses; and (3) willingness of the farmers to work newly assigned plots and to apply new methods, e.g., introduction of new crops, greater use of farm and irrigation machinery, and the joint use of storage and processing facilities.

Farmers as a class are more cautious than many other workers in experimenting with new methods and new machinery. People from other Alpine areas therefore looked upon the experiment of the Middle Upper Inn Valley with more than passing interest. Scores of similar projects all over the Alpine parts of Austria and across its borders are awaiting their turn. Although not all projects are of such a diversified nature, or of such great urgency or so long in the making, their importance in terms of local conditions and effects is nevertheless real. The success of the pilot project has been unanimously acclaimed as highly beneficial to all concerned.

Local organizations and governmental agencies have been planning many joint co-operative undertakings, e.g., reforestation, both as avalanche protection and as a long-term investment in the form of increased farm income in various regions of the Eastern Alps;<sup>43</sup> regional planning in one of Tyrol's poorest valleys, the Pitz Valley;<sup>44</sup> irrigation and reforestation of one of Austria's driest regions, the Kaunerberg near Prutz in the Upper Inn Valley;<sup>45</sup> regional planning in connection with greatly increased industrial ac-

<sup>43</sup> Walter Strzygowski, "Geographische Veraenderungen in Oesterreich, 1938-1953," *Geographische Rundschau*, 5 Jh. No. 10, October, 1953, pp. 365-72.

<sup>44</sup> Georg Fromme, *Schach der Waldverwüstung* (Vienna, Österreichisches Produktivitäts-Zentrum, 1952), Part I (the Pitz Valley), 74.

<sup>45</sup> Georg Fromme, *Schach der Waldverwüstung* (Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesregierung, Wildbach-u. Lawinenverbauung, Sektion Innsbruck, 1953), 42; Part II (Kaunerberg), 57-69 (private distribution).

tivities in the Lower Inn Valley between Innsbruck and Kufstein, and many others.

The work undertaken in the Middle Upper Inn Valley serves as a pilot project for similar projects all over the Alpine provinces of Austria and to some extent in the neighboring countries of Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. New forces are at work, and only the financial limitation of the communities and the provinces offers a block to more rapid development. Modern technology and a spirit of co-operation are revamping many old traditions in the Alpine regions.

# Family Social Status and Parental-Authority Evaluations Among Adolescents

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THE IMPORTANCE of the role of the family in the personality development of the child has been a central concern of sociologists for many years. The family is apprehended as creating a particular kind of social structure within which the child and adolescent is embedded, which acts upon him in diverse ways and upon which he himself acts. It provides the main setting in early life for the learning of those behavior characteristics that have both individual and social reference, skills such as taking care of and feeding oneself, and motives and values of both a temporary and permanent nature. A description of a family, in other words, is a description of one of the major conditions of learning for a child born into, and reared in, that family.

The present study concerns patterns of parent-child authority relationships and the family social-status system within which authority patterns are operative. A number of writers have contended that there is a functional relationship between the class position of an adolescent's family and various aspects of the adolescent's personality and behavior.<sup>1</sup> Various writers<sup>2</sup> have contended further that an "authoritarian atmosphere" in the home is not conducive to the development of personality security for the child. Conversely, it is argued that satisfactory relationships between parents and children—the absence of anxieties on the part of children with regard to parental relationships—are indicative of nonauthoritarian relationships. The question arises concerning the relationship between family social status and the parental-authority patterns.

<sup>1</sup> See Allison Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in Nelson B. Henry (ed.), *The 43rd. Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944), Part I, 198-216; also A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949).

<sup>2</sup> See Paul H. Landis and Carol L. Stone, *The Relationship of Parental Authority Patterns to Teenage Adjustment*, Bulletin No. 538, Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations, Institute of Agricultural Science, State College of Washington, September, 1952; Erich Fromm, "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 380-84; Arnold Green, "The Middle-Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, XI (1946), 31-41.

Considerable evidence at present points to the lower-class child or adolescent as the one most likely to be influenced by an "authoritarian" home environment. Davis<sup>3</sup> and others<sup>4</sup> have characterized childhood in the lower classes by its delayed, but physically severe, parental punishments and absence of rewards, by its minimal restraints in expressing aggression and sexuality, and by its generally greater emphasis upon immediate, rather than delayed, gratification of desires. Green, on the other hand, in his study of the socialization process taking place in a specific Polish industrial community, introduces the concept of "personality absorption" of the child, "the physical and emotional blanketing of the child, bringing about a slavish dependence upon the parents," and he gives this orientation a middle-class basis:

Everything the middle-class child accomplishes or fails to accomplish becomes an inevitable part of the family's attempt to maintain or improve its standing in the community. . . . A combination of submission in his role of child-in-family, and assertiveness in his play-group, school, pupil, and other roles enacted outside of home is expected.<sup>5</sup>

Green thus contends that parental authority in the form of personality absorption and the threat of love-withdrawal clashes with social demands upon the child for competitiveness. A derivation from this contention is the hypothesis that the child reared in the democratic family suffers from fewer serious personal maladjustments and enjoys better social adjustment than does the young person reared in an atmosphere dominated by his parents' wishes and commands, with little or no chance to think or do for himself. He hypothesizes, furthermore, that the middle-class child is most subject to personality absorption. His data, however, are limited in application, for they were gathered within a unique, minority-group community and were not designed to empirically portray a middle-class pattern.

The investigation of Hollingshead into the social structure of Elmtown throws additional light upon these questions, albeit somewhat contradictory to that by which Green's theory illuminates them. He asserts that the adolescent member of the lower class learns to resent his family and parental controls; he strives for independence from family demands, even though he must rely upon this social unit for food and shelter.<sup>6</sup> A clue as to why he is so set upon independence may be found in his attitudes about spending money. Hollingshead reports that such an attitude as follows is widespread

<sup>3</sup> Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality."

<sup>4</sup> Henry S. Mas, "Some Social Class Differences in the Family Systems and Group Relations of Pre- and Early Adolescents," *Child Development*, XXII (1951), 145-52; and Hollingshead, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Green, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Hollingshead, *loc. cit.*

among lower-status teenagers when rebuked for unwise expenditures: "No one can tell me how I am going to spend my money. Did you earn it?" His "insistence upon freedom to do what he desires brings him into conflict with the law with significantly greater frequency than the other classes. This situation, however, is accepted . . . as something he must expect, for he has seen it happen with parents, relatives, and friends."<sup>7</sup>

It is not, then, that his parents are necessarily always stricter than the parents of higher-status children, but seem stricter only because of his low-status position, a situation which leads to a greater demand for independence. One might speculate that this greater drive for freedom from parental control would create in the parents a stronger urge to maintain authority, and that the two resulting counterforces would lead the youngster to consider his parents undemocratic. Even if the parents do not react in this way, Hollingshead's conclusions indicate that the lower-class youngster will be most rebellious toward parental controls, and that the progressive easing of parental controls in this stratum will be more difficult than in higher strata. The adolescent's rebelliousness in this lower-social stratum is accompanied, furthermore, by a sort of fatalism, which implies an awareness that his freedom may get him into trouble—that he is fighting an uphill battle.

Since the present study is concerned with the function of parental-authority patterns within the structure of family social status, the research may profitably be conducted in terms of the two theories of Green and Hollingshead. Green visualizes anxiety and subservience among middle-class adolescents as a result of strict, blanketing, parental controls which are products of middle-class expectations; Hollingshead sees rebelliousness and a drive for independence in the lower-class adolescent as the consequence of a combination of two major social conditions prevailing during the process of socialization: the condition imposed by low-status ranking in the community's social-status hierarchy and the resultant inability of parents to effect a gradual transition from dominance to partnership in the guidance of their children.

One should expect to find, on the basis of these two approaches, a feeling among both middle-class and lower-class adolescents that their parents are exercising too much control over their lives. But the authoritarian sensitivity in the two classes derives from two different sources: the middle-class child rebels against overprotection, parental dominance, and parental preoccupation with social advancement, whereas the lower-class child rebels against parents who have caused him to bear the marks of social inferiority and to be handicapped in the struggle for status.

The question raised by this study is as follows: Are parental-authority

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 444.

patterns in respondents' homes associated with the social status of respondents' families in terms of some discernible pattern?

One must recognize that in a discussion of this nature, limited to a treatment of only two variables out of many, the problem of cause-and-effect is not central and cannot be determined. This does not mean that it is not important. It would be valuable to know that parents in the upper-status levels, for example, are, for that reason, less authoritarian in their relationships with their children than are parents in lower-status levels. To learn that they are not would also be valuable knowledge. For example, one might find that parents in the higher-status brackets—and for that reason—tend to be judged as less authoritarian by their children, even though their behavior in relation to their children does not differ from that of parents in lower-status levels; children of parents in the latter category simply may be more prone to consider their parents authoritarian, perhaps because of greater deprivations due to economic limitations. These questions of causal relationships are not answered in this study. The value of the study is based upon the determination of the existence of correlations between indices of social status and parental-authority patterns among a group of adolescent girls. If correlations are found, then problems of causation and/or interpretation become important.

In this study, a technique for measuring the authority structure in adolescents' homes is presented, along with a technique for ranking the families of adolescents in terms of social status on the basis of evaluations made by the adolescents. Use of the Guttman scaling technique for this purpose serves as a safeguard that the attitude-dimensions which are being probed are uniform for the populations of this study. This safeguard is particularly relevant in the study of parental-authority attitudes of adolescents from different social-status backgrounds. Finally, it is shown that there is a clear relationship between the ranking by adolescents of their parents on a parental-authority scale and the social-status ranking of these parents by their adolescent offspring.

#### *Source of Data and Method of Procedure*

This investigation is based upon the responses to a questionnaire that were made by adolescent girls in Spokane and Seattle, Washington. The data were obtained from a complete enumeration of ninth-grade girls in two junior high schools in Seattle and from eighth-grade girls in a junior high school and ninth-grade girls in a high school in Spokane. These schools were purposefully selected in order to secure respondents with a wide variety of social-status backgrounds, and to eliminate or minimize the influence of racial factors upon results. In none of the schools were as many as 2 per cent of the total number of respondents nonwhite.

As an index of her family social status, each respondent was asked to check six items designed to reveal an aspect of her own evaluation of the social status of her family, from which a "social-status scale" was derived. The questions and the response-categories for each were as follows:

- I. So far as conveniences, comforts, and general appearances are concerned, I consider my home to be:
  1. one of the best in the city
  2. compares very well with most
  3. about average
  4. not very satisfactory
  5. not satisfactory at all
- II. In comparison to the income of the parents of other students in this city, the income of my parents is:
  1. one of the highest
  2. fairly high
  3. just average
  4. less than average
  5. poor
- III. In comparison to our family needs, my parents' income is:
  1. very satisfactory
  2. good
  3. reasonably sufficient
  4. not quite sufficient
  5. definitely insufficient
- IV. My parents are considered by most people in the community to be:
  1. very important people
  2. rather important people
  3. just average people
  4. of less than average importance
  5. not at all important people
- V. As a life's occupation, I consider my father's occupation to be:
  1. ideal
  2. very satisfactory
  3. fairly satisfactory
  4. rather unsatisfactory
  5. very unsatisfactory
- VI. If I had my choice with regard to the place in which to live, I would consider my neighborhood to be:
  1. better than any place I know
  2. would usually prefer it
  3. would as soon live here as not
  4. might prefer to live elsewhere
  5. thoroughly dislike this community and neighborhood

These are "subjective" measures of social status, for each item requires a personal "evaluative" response. In effect, each respondent was asked to state a series of opinions about her home, neighborhood, family income, parents' community prestige, and father's occupation. These items have been considered aspects of social status by numerous writers, particularly by Warner and his associates.<sup>8</sup> In the present study their combined use as a subjective measure of the ranking of families by their adolescent members is the principal source of difference from their use in other studies.<sup>9</sup>

Utilizing the general technique for scale analysis outlined by Stouffer, Guttman, and Suchman,<sup>10</sup> several approximations were necessary before the final scale arrangement was determined, using a sample of one hundred respondents from one of the schools. In the final arrangement, respondents were arranged so that they would appear in one of seven possible scale types with the least amount of error. The resultant pattern conformed to the parallelogram pattern which is typical of a true scale. All of the theoretical scale types appeared in this approximation, though less than 10 per cent of the respondents were in Scale Types 1 and 7. Error was random. The coefficient of reproducibility was .953, and the average of the modal categories of the six items was .764.

The coefficients of reproducibility for each of the schools were as follows:

School 1	. . . . .	.953	. . . . .	141	respondents
School 2	. . . . .	.966	. . . . .	233	respondents
School 3	. . . . .	.959	. . . . .	139	respondents
School 4	. . . . .	.967	. . . . .	201	respondents

The exceptionally high reproducibility found in all four populations renders tenable the hypothesis that the questions sample a scalable area for the groups studied.

Each respondent was also requested to check a series of items designed to elicit her evaluation of parental controls in her home. These items were used in a study of parental controls by Landis and Stone,<sup>11</sup> and were used in the present study as an index of "parental-authority pattern" in the home of each respondent. The questions and the response-categories for each were as follows:

<sup>8</sup> Lloyd Warner, Marcia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1949).

<sup>9</sup> Rankings based on the social-status scale used in this study corresponded closely with rankings of the fathers of these respondents on an occupational-status scale. See Leonard G. Benson, "Adolescent Anxieties: A Study of Family Social Status and Structural Characteristics as Influences upon Anxieties of Teen-Age Girls in Seattle and Spokane, Washington" (unpublished dissertation, Washington State College, 1953).

<sup>10</sup> Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *Measurement and Prediction* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1950), chaps. 1-4.

<sup>11</sup> Landis and Stone, *loc. cit.*

I. So far as my social activities are concerned, my parents:

1. heartily approve
2. usually approve
3. approve about half the time
4. seldom approve
5. never approve

II. Considering the family income, my parents, if I need money, are:

1. very generous
2. fairly generous
3. average
4. rather stingy
5. very stingy

III. When requiring me to do something, my parents:

1. always explain the reason
2. usually explain
3. explain about as often as not
4. seldom explain
5. think explanations unnecessary

IV. With regard to "evenings out," my parents allow me:

1. every evening out if I wish
2. all week end, some school nights
3. week-end evenings, not school nights
4. just an occasional evening out
5. almost never allowed evenings out

V. With regard to family problems, my parents discuss them with me:

1. always
2. usually
3. about half the time
4. seldom
5. never

VI. My parents respect my opinion and judgments:

1. all of the time
2. most of the time
3. about half the time
4. seldom
5. never

Following the same procedure used to determine the social-status scale pattern, the final "parental-authority scale" met the criteria for scalability as did the former. The parallelogram pattern was clearly present. All theoretical scale types appeared, though less than 10 per cent of the respondents were in Scale Type 1.

The coefficients of reproducibility for each of the schools were as follows:

As in the case of the social-status scale, the exceptionally high reproducibility found in all populations renders tenable the hypothesis that the questions sample a scalable area for the groups studied.

TABLE I

### Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Rankings on the Social-Status Scale in Relation to Their Rankings on the Parental-Authority Scale

School	Social- Status Category*	Parental-Authority Category*				Total
		1	2	3	4	
1	1	49.1	38.3	7.6	5.0	100.0
	2	29.3	43.2	22.4	5.1	100.0
	3	7.4	26.0	33.3	33.3	100.0
	4	18.8	12.6	24.8	43.8	100.0
2	1	39.4	43.4	11.4	5.8	100.0
	2	31.8	34.8	16.7	16.7	100.0
	3	15.1	34.0	24.5	26.4	100.0
	4	12.5	37.5	16.7	33.3	100.0
3	1	53.5	34.3	...	12.2	100.0
	2	29.3	45.5	11.4	13.6	100.0
	3	15.8	31.6	24.6	28.0	100.0
	4	9.0	18.2	27.3	43.5	100.0
4	1	41.5	43.8	8.8	5.9	100.0
	2	32.8	40.6	6.3	20.3	100.0
	3	26.1	23.2	20.3	30.4	100.0
	4	10.3	15.4	17.9	56.4	100.0

\* Social-Status Category 1 indicates the highest social-status group, and Social-Status Category 4, the lowest. Parental-Authority Category 1 indicates the most democratic group, and Parental-Authority Category 4, the least. The seven scale types of the social-status and parental-authority scales were consolidated into four categories in order to secure larger frequencies in the categories for cross tabulation.

### **Findings**

The data of the present study indicate a relationship between respondents' evaluations of their family social status and the parental-authority patterns perceived in their homes, as seen in Table 1. In each of the four schools, respondents whose families ranked high on the social-status scale tended to indicate the existence of democratic parental-authority patterns in their homes; those whose families ranked low indicated more authoritarian patterns.

Hence, this study supports the contention that the lower-status adoles-

cent is most likely to be beset by problems involving parental-authority considerations. An alternative conclusion, which is not necessarily contradictory, is also possible: adolescent attitudes about parental authority and family social status are simultaneously influenced by a third or even more variables. Respondents in the middle of the social-status hierarchies indicated less authoritarian parental relations than those ranking lower than themselves, but more than those who ranked higher. No excess of "personality absorption" was manifested in this middle group, at least in comparison with respondents in lower social-status categories. The respondents identified with the middle classes in their schools manifested no marked concern with problems involving parental domination and pressure. The study adds further empirical validation to the proposition that adolescents of low family social status are more conscious of disciplinary parental relationships in their homes than are those in higher social classes.

# The Case Method in an Undergraduate School of Business

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RECENTLY the question of the role and functions of business schools in universities has been raised from an unfamiliar quarter. Academicians have always quarreled about the scholarly values alleged to be present in, or absent from, a business school's training. They have now been joined by a segment of the business community itself,<sup>1</sup> and this new attack has caused some administrators in collegiate schools of business to re-examine their objectives and methods. Among other things, they are taking a closer look at the so-called "case method" of instruction.

## I

Any professional school must do three things: (1) it must determine its educational objectives; (2) it must create a curriculum designed to attain these objectives; and (3) it must prepare teaching materials and methods which will give the curriculum reality. The case method falls under the third of these headings, for it is merely one of several teaching techniques. It is necessary at the beginning, however, to examine the first of these needs—that of determining educational objectives—for the case method is of varying degrees of effectiveness, depending upon the purpose of the educational program of which it is a part.<sup>2</sup>

If a collegiate school of business is to be more than a trade school with a university veneer, then it must not attempt to educate people for specialized types of jobs. Rather, it is necessary to find the requirements that are common to all, or most, kinds of jobs in business and to concentrate our educational efforts on these common elements, leaving the task of training people for particular jobs largely to the companies themselves. It is an error to think that a school of business administration can or ought to turn out people who are immediately qualified, without further experience and training, for specific jobs. The employer or the graduate who expects this is

<sup>1</sup> See e.g., "The Business Schools: Pass or Flunk?" *Fortune*, June, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Several viewpoints on this question are presented in *The Challenge of Business Education* (papers published in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the School of Business of the University of Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949).

almost invariably disappointed. The plain fact is that the resources of collegiate schools of business are severely limited with respect to the development of technical competence in specific business jobs—particularly positions involving great responsibility and the making of important decisions. The judgment needed for these jobs comes only through experience.

But even if such training were feasible at the college level, it is unfortunately true that the great majority of students do not know what kind of job or jobs they will hold. Even those students who think they do know often end in jobs so divergent from what they anticipated that one may doubt the wisdom of early specialization and concentration in a narrow field.

In short, the undergraduate business school cannot, and should not, train students for specific jobs.<sup>3</sup> Instead, the college should attempt to provide students with a wide background which will give them the perspective and intellectual equipment necessary to learn specific jobs quickly and to exercise independent thought and responsible judgment in the performance of those jobs.

The place for training for specific jobs is not found at the undergraduate level. Rather, such training should be offered to businessmen who are already on the job and who have a substantial background of experience. Thus, short courses and conferences for purchasing agents, advertising copywriters, investment bankers, etc., can be extremely valuable.<sup>4</sup> The demand for such courses from trade associations and large firms has grown enormously in recent years. At least one educator has visualized the time when a student will receive his basic business training in undergraduate school and will continue his formal training intermittently throughout his career, through the medium of courses and conferences relating specifically to his various jobs.<sup>5</sup>

In summary, collegiate schools of business should attempt to provide an opportunity for the student to develop a fund of knowledge, abilities, attitudes and understandings which will constitute a foundation for his growth into a responsible and competent administrator in any field. The word "responsible" should be emphasized, for if a man is to occupy more or less permanently a humble position in the business hierarchy, he can make better use of his time than spending it at a school of business administration. As Professor Gragg has said: "If a young man who is to spend his life as a salesman, floorwalker, clerk, or minor official has several years to devote to acquir-

<sup>3</sup> There are exceptions, of course. A fairly rigid course of training is necessary to prepare for public accountancy, and the same is true to a lesser degree for some other jobs.

<sup>4</sup> The Danish People's High School system, admission to which is open only after an interval of practical experience, has had extraordinary success. See Richard Livingstone, *On Education* (New York, Macmillan Co., 1944), 43 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Howard Bowen, "Future of Business Education," in *The Challenge of Business Education*.

ing background, he is likely to find that the study of sonnets, or operas, or fishing, or philosophy will be more sustaining to his soul than a broad knowledge of business operations."<sup>6</sup>

## II

Thus the work of a school of business—graduate or undergraduate—must be aimed at fitting students for eventual administrative positions of importance in some unknown industry and some unknown firm. Among the qualities needed by businessmen in such positions are the ability to analyze a situation, the capacity to make sound judgments and to formulate a course of action, and skill in communicating these judgments to others and in carrying into effect the desired program. Business education, then, must be directed toward the development of these qualities in students.

These objectives can be more certainly attained through the study, contemplation, and discussion of concrete cases than through other common methods of study.<sup>7</sup> They cannot be attained by the accumulation and the memorizing of "facts." Nor can they be reached by the memorizing of "rules" or "principles." Students cannot be *lectured* into having the ability to solve business problems.

There are two fundamental reasons why the case method is superior in a collegiate school of business to the more conventional method of teaching, in which the student is faced with the relatively simple task of more or less verbatim reception and repetition of facts and ideas. The first reason is based upon the simple truth that the learning process requires dynamic co-operation from the learner. It is convenient to accept the assumption that the desired results can be attained by passing on, through lectures and readings, a recapitulation of the results of past business experience—neatly catalogued and systematized by a teacher who need only learn the facts of his subject at second hand. Unfortunately, however, a student cannot, by passive absorption, receive such knowledge in a useful form. He must be motivated to participate actively in the process of learning, and a cardinal virtue of the case system is that it arouses the interest of the student by making him an active, rather than a passive, participant. It has an inherently dramatic and challenging character, in which the student is encouraged to think independently and constructively and to make responsible judgments concerning business practices and policies.

The second, and more important, argument for the case system is that the

<sup>6</sup> Charles I. Gragg, "Because Wisdom Can't Be Told," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, October 19, 1940.

<sup>7</sup> A "case" is usually a description of an actual problem which has been confronted by some business executive, together with the surrounding facts, opinions, and prejudices which were available to the executive and upon which he had to depend for his decision.

ultimate goal of business education should be the development of the power of thinking, not the acquisition of facts.<sup>8</sup> This is true in any educational endeavor, but even more so in the business school. For business is far from an exact science. Unlike physics, business administration depends on judgment rather than on quasi-certainties; and business education should be designed to develop the habits and skills needed as a foundation for judgment. These habits and skills are encouraged by the case method, which confronts the student with a series of new problems in an ever-changing environment and which early impresses upon him the fact that there is no single, demonstrably "right" answer to any of these problems. He is placed in a situation analogous to that confronting a businessman, and his eventual success as a businessman will rest upon his ability to think through to some intelligent solution of such problems, not upon resort to a store of factual knowledge and theoretical principles which he accumulated in his undergraduate education and which would be useful only in a static society.

For these reasons, the method of instruction in business should rest primarily upon the case system. This does not mean that all instruction should be of this type. Obviously we cannot expect a student to form a constructive opinion concerning the method of financing a growing corporation unless he has first learned the difference between a stock and a bond; and it may be necessary to introduce such factual information via lectures or assignments in texts and reference books. Moreover, some fields do not lend themselves readily to the case method. But the method should be the backbone of a business education. Our present reliance on reading textbooks, listening to lectures, and writing monthly exams is woefully inadequate preparation for a business career.

It must be admitted that a course taught by this method cannot be expected to convey the same amount of factual information that is available in a conventional lecture course, where facts, techniques, and skills are the principal concern. Since the time for any course is limited, the time consumed by the case method in training students to think about problems reduces the time available for the teaching of facts and techniques. Lest this disadvantage be overemphasized, however, it can be argued that much of what is included in basic lecture courses is not actually necessary, or can be provided students by reference material. And it should not be necessary to point out that most of the facts and techniques crammed into students' heads are forgotten in a very short time. Above all, however, is the fact that development of the thinking process is more important than the gaining of factual knowledge. Any procedure that emphasizes certain goals invariably

<sup>8</sup> This advantage of the case method was pointed out in one of the earliest statements on the subject. See Arthur Stone Dewing, "An Introduction to the Use of Cases," in Cecil Fraser (ed.), *The Case Method of Instruction* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931).

underemphasizes other desirable aims. Those who adopt the case method do so because they believe in the cardinal importance of training analytical power.

### III

It is frequently stated that "the case method may be valuable in a graduate business school like Harvard, but it won't work with undergraduates. They are too immature and inexperienced." This is the same assumption made in most undergraduate teaching—the assumption that the student's experience before and during college is so narrowly limited that it is necessary to dwell entirely upon facts and theories, without any corresponding development of the practice or experience necessary to make those facts and theories fully meaningful.<sup>9</sup>

This assumption is erroneous. The typical undergraduate brings to his college classroom a vast store of experience (although he has had little training in interpreting it) and the habit of learning easily from his contemporaries. Both could be converted into important assets by the teacher. Unfortunately, however, his university training usually appears to him to be merely a continuation of secondary school training in which he is still dominated by authority and his role is that of a passive recipient of a stream of accepted thoughts and techniques which are supposed to be actively used at some later time. As a result he fails to find intellectual stimulation in his classroom. A contrast is often drawn between the newly acquired freedom in his social life which the student finds in college and the continued restrictions on his intellectual life; and the remark is not infrequently heard that the educational results of a student's extracurricular activities are greater and more lasting than those of his classroom work. But if his intellectual work is given an imaginative and emotional appeal, and integrated with the new independence he finds in his social environment, the results may be astonishing. Classwork is given such an appeal by the case system, where the teacher transfers the burden of intellectual responsibility to the student. Here college education is tied effectively into life, and recognized by the students as preparation for life.

Admittedly, some students are too immature to benefit from the case system. This is not, however, a matter of chronological age, but one of readiness for acceptance of responsibility. The disciplines of the case method are severe. Being encouraged to think out original answers to new problems is an uncomfortable, or even a traumatic, experience for students habituated to the role of the receiver by the traditional educational system. Not all students—indeed, not all businessmen—can bear the strain of thinking actively,

<sup>9</sup> See Wallace Donham, "The Case Method in College Teaching of Social Sciences," *Journal of General Education*, January, 1949.

of making independent judgments which may be challenged vigorously by their contemporaries. Dean John Fox of the Harvard Business School, a graduate school with carefully selected students, reports that up to one-third of the students in a given class may need individual help in adjusting to the case system.<sup>10</sup> This might lead one to conclude that the method is a lethal instrument. It should be emphasized, therefore, that Dean Fox is referring to the early stages of adjustment to a wholly new environment. The victims usually recover and, in time, most students come to feel satisfaction, even exhilaration, in concrete, independent, and responsible thinking.

It is often true that the student who has difficulty adjusting to the case system may have made above-average grades in lecture courses, where a facile memory and a willingness to accept as gospel the dicta propounded by the instructor are all-important. Under the case method he is judged by the quality of his own reasoning and the presentation of his own analysis, not by his retention of second-hand ideas and techniques.<sup>11</sup> This does not mean, however, that a good student in a lecture course will not be a good student under the case method, for both methods place a premium on intelligence, curiosity, and industry. It is regrettably true that the intellectual quality of students in many undergraduate business schools is low,<sup>12</sup> but this fact is not an argument for the use of either the case method or the lecture method.

#### IV

A change from the lecture system to the case method usually requires greater adjustment by the teacher than by the student. At first glance, the duties of the instructor under this method seem less onerous than those of the lecturer in unilateral teaching. On the surface, the students seem to do all the work. The instructor need not even prepare lectures. Actually, however, it is a considerable strain to leave the "safe haven of dogmatism" and deal with a class as a group of equals whose criticisms must be faced and whose contributions need to be comprehended and used. The instructor must

<sup>10</sup> "A Note on Counseling as an Adjunct of the Case Method," in Kenneth Andrews (ed.), *The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations and Administration* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953).

<sup>11</sup> An excellent discussion of the results of the case method and the burdens it places on students is "The Case Method as Seen by Recent Graduates," in Malcolm McNair (ed.), *The Case Method at the Harvard Business School* (New York, 1954).

<sup>12</sup> In a recent survey of scores on intelligence tests, the only groups scoring lower than business students were home economics and physical education majors.—Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training, *America's Resources of Specialized Talent* (New York, 1954). For other studies with identical results, see Wolfe and Oxtoby, "Distribution of Ability of Students Specializing in Different Fields," *Science*, September 26, 1952, and Elbridge Sibley, *The Recruitment, Selection and Training of Social Scientists*, Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 58 (New York, 1943), 23-28.

be alert to perceive the needs, resources, and weaknesses of each class and of individuals in the class and to integrate these into the over-all goals of the course in the process of discussing the issues of a specific case. This is an inordinately difficult assignment; and if the case method fails to accomplish the purpose, it is more likely to be the fault of the instructor than of the students.

It would be foolish to attempt to give here a set of maxims to be followed by all teachers of the case system. Case teaching is a highly individualistic art and each instructor must develop his own style of teaching.<sup>13</sup> The usual pedagogical virtues—humor, enthusiasm, approachability, and a sense of showmanship—are as valuable as in any type of class. In addition, however, some points seem worthy of restatement:

1. The atmosphere in which the class is conducted is vitally important. This should be a co-operative, informal atmosphere, in which the student feels free to advance his ideas and questions without the instructor's reacting in the form of rejection, condescension, or disciplinary injunctions to spend more time in studying the case. The instructor must listen intently to, and try to understand, what students say, and encourage the rest of the class to do the same.

2. The instructor must disclaim the role of authority and refrain from leading students along the path of his own analysis to his own solution of the problems presented by the case. Otherwise, he defeats the purpose of the case method, which is to help the student develop his own thinking and grow in the maturity of his point of view, rather than to give a specific "best answer" to a case. This is perhaps the most difficult part of case instruction, for teachers—even more than senators—are beset by the temptation to tell others how to think. The essence of the case system is to let the student carry the load. It may be more painful, but it is undoubtedly more effective.

3. Although case discussion is an essentially "undirected" activity, it must nevertheless be aimed toward certain objectives of the course and the school. Thus the instructor must, to some extent, guide the discussion.<sup>14</sup> He may do this by asking questions, by restating the views expressed by a student, or even by outlining points not touched upon by the class. He may even deliver a prepared lecturette. But he must refrain from implying "This is the answer." He is a participant in the discussion, not its authoritarian leader.

<sup>13</sup> There are several valuable essays on this topic in *The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations* and *The Case Method at the Harvard Business School*. See also Pearson Hunt, "The Case Method of Instruction," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXI (Summer, 1951).

<sup>14</sup> Of course, the cases themselves should be selected and presented in an order which recognizes the objectives of the course and which will secure an orderly expansion of the student's experience.

## V

In discussions of the case method, certain questions concerning the mechanical details of conducting a class inevitably arise. Obviously there are no specific answers. Each instructor must learn by doing, and by pondering his own experience. Nevertheless, some generalizations may be valuable:

1. Experience suggests that the optimum size for a class using the case method is about forty to fifty students.<sup>15</sup> A very large class makes it difficult to give an opportunity to everyone who wishes to speak, and the desirable atmosphere of informality may be impossible. On the other hand, a very small class may not contain enough outstanding students to form a nucleus for vigorous and fruitful discussion.

2. Usually one class period is devoted to each case. Thus the case should be short enough to allow a student to digest it in the time allotted for one class-preparation. At the same time, it should not be so short that students are forced to supply many of the facts necessary for intelligent analysis. This is the principal objection to the short half-page "problems" included in so many modern business texts. A careful, exhaustive analysis of a limited number of cases is much better training to students than a cursory analysis of a large number of cases.

3. The time available in one class-period rarely permits a complete analysis of all aspects of a case. Moreover, classroom discussion should be spontaneous and probably will not follow a neatly logical pattern. Thus an important role in the case method is the preparation by the student of comprehensive and detailed case analyses in written form. This gives him valuable training in analysis and, more important, in communicating his judgments to others. These papers are graded both for the cogency of the analysis and for the quality of the presentation. Students should be encouraged to work together in small groups in the discussion and analysis of such a case, up to the point where each student actually begins writing his report.

4. It is admittedly difficult to measure the performance of students and to assign grades in a course conducted under the case method. A student's performance in the daily discussions should be given considerable weight, along with the written reports and examinations. A good procedure is for the instructor to make brief notes after each class concerning students who contributed appreciably to the discussion and gave evidence of, or failed to display, the desirable characteristics for which he is searching. Thus the instructor must have in mind a list of general objectives of the course, for the process of evaluating students should be a continuous one. Incidentally, it is

<sup>15</sup> The consensus at the Harvard Business School is that forty to eighty students is the most satisfactory number.—Robert Merry, "Use of Case Material in the Classroom," in McNair, *The Case Method at the Harvard Business School*.

also useful to devote some time immediately after class to jotting down comments about the case itself—new lines of thought opened up by students, etc.

Written examinations should consist principally of a case problem, to which the student must apply the analytical power and insight he has supposedly been cultivating. It must be recognized, however, that an examination does not reveal the ability of the student to use and build upon the ideas of others in a group, and the rigid time limitation prevents the case from being very complicated.

The lifeblood of the case system consists, obviously, of the cases themselves. Many schools that have wished to experiment with the case method have been hesitant because of the difficulty and expense of gathering cases. The Harvard Business School, which has collected over twenty thousand cases since 1921, has spent about \$5,000,000 for this purpose—an average of about \$240 per case.<sup>16</sup>

Fortunately, many of these Harvard cases have been published for use in other schools. At least thirteen collections of Harvard cases are currently in print, covering such diverse areas as advertising, finance, cost accounting, labor relations, and sales management. There are also many published collections of cases from non-Harvard sources, particularly in the area of human relations.

At the same time, however, there are important values to be gained by the school which itself collects at least some of the cases which it uses, rather than relying entirely on cases collected by others. In the first place, cases may be obtained which are particularly pertinent for a specific course or school. In the Southwest, for example, cases taken from petroleum companies may have special meaning, as might a case dealing with the problems of Negro employees. More important is the fact that case-collection by a faculty member enables him to keep abreast of current business developments and affords opportunities for intimate insights into business operations, while giving him valuable contacts with local firms. Case-collection helps to bridge the gap between the classroom and the reality of administrative problems.

## VI

The case method hardly qualifies as a bold new technique in the teaching of business administration. It was used at Harvard as early as 1912, and a casebook of marketing problems was published in 1920. Despite this, and despite the widespread interest which it has aroused, the method has not been widely adopted in the Southwest. This is partly attributable to the inertia which exists in any faculty. Teachers who have spent years in developing a particular course may display an understandable reluctance to abandon

<sup>16</sup> Arthur Tully, "The Financing of Case Collection," in McNair, *The Case Method at the Harvard Business School*.

their lecture notes and embark upon an unexplored educational venture. Nevertheless, the teacher who is willing to break with the past and accept the uncertainties of the case method will find the experience rewarding, and his students will embrace the opportunity to exercise independent thought and responsible judgment, i.e., to act as mature members of a democratic community.

The case method is not foolproof. There will always be some students who, for all that has gone on in class, have progressed little if at all. On the other hand, one must be naïve indeed to contend that all students benefit from the lecture method. It is the thesis of this paper that a majority of the students in a collegiate school of business administration will be better equipped for advancement in the business world through exposure to the case method of instruction than through listening to conventional lectures on business "principles" and reading orthodox texts. Business administration is an *action* art. The most valuable "principle" which a university can impart to the business student is the ability to reason his way through a complex situation and arrive at a conclusion for action. It is just this sort of reasoning for action which the case method develops in a student.

# Types of Migration

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SIXTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, when Ravenstein presented his famous papers at the Royal Statistical Society, the establishment of universal laws of migration seemed to be possible not only to him but also to some of his critics. The scientific climate, as well as the social conditions of the time, was favorable to such an undertaking. Since then we have learned a great deal more about the facts of migration, but we have become quite skeptical on the question of laws. Today we see more clearly the methodological differences between the social and the natural sciences; we also have, in the last three or four decades, experienced mass migrations and compulsory population-transfers which seem to invalidate any general theory of migration. And yet, without theoretical orientation, how can we expect to gain new, significant insights? This paper is an attempt to indicate a way to overcome this dilemma.

Recent developments in general population-theory have had their parallel in economics, where the classical tradition was challenged by the historical and institutional schools. We realize now that each historical epoch has its own mode of population growth.<sup>1</sup> Applying this general principle to our particular subject, I am abandoning the formulation of universal laws and attempting instead the construction of a typology of migration, the types to be differentiated by the general institutional conditions under which they occur.

Migrations can be *classified* in many ways, and I do not intend to do away with well-established classifications by direction, distance, and duration of sojourn at the place of destination. Classifications of this kind have practically universal application, though, for example, "rural-urban" migration presupposes the existence of cities. On the level of classification alone, one can think of many possible types of migration;<sup>2</sup> but the demographer and

NOTE.—This paper is a revised version of a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, 1954.

<sup>1</sup> Gerhard Mackenroth, *Bevölkerungslehre: Theorie, Soziologie und Statistik der Bevölkerung* (Berlin, Springer-Verlag, 1953).

<sup>2</sup> Edg. Kant, *Migrationernas Klassifikation och Problematic*, Meddelanden Fran Lunds Universitets Geografiska Institution, N:o 317 (1953), 184 (with summary in German and bibliography); also Friedrich Hertz, "Die Wanderungen," *Koelner Vierteljahrsschriften für Soziologie*, VIII (1929).

sociologist will concern himself only with those types that have been actually important in the history of mankind.

Starting from this premise, I shall attempt to develop a few concepts of basic "ideal" types which are differentiated by *sociologically significant criteria*. From the large number of such criteria, two have been selected for primary consideration: (1) the way in which migration affects the social relationships of the migrants and (2) the differences in socio-cultural systems between areas of origin and areas of destination.

1. Ravenstein's laws and most of the post-Ravensteinian theorizing on migration presupposes that the migrant separates himself voluntarily from his local community and moves, like an isolated social atom, to greener pastures, where he joins, for a longer or shorter period, the flock of natives and earlier arrivals. By way of contrast, we know that earlier times saw a prevalence of what may be called "communal" migration: the treks of nomads and the *Völkerwanderungen*. Where the entire clan or tribe moves together, the migrant carries his whole social system with him; he remains, so to speak, at the same position in social space while moving about in physical space.

However, the term "nomadism" covers a variety of types,<sup>3</sup> which vary in demographic and economic significance and also in regard to the social structure of the migrant groups. Some of these types still exist in our own Western society; others are important in the so-called underdeveloped areas. Sometimes only part of the community migrates; in these instances we are dealing not with true nomadism but with seasonal migration of herders. Likewise, there are quite a number of different types of *Völkerwanderung*, belligerent types like the Celtic and Germanic migrations, and peaceful types of slowly shifting tribes of primitive agriculturalists as occurred in certain areas of Southeast Asia.

A sociologically distinct type is one that sends out a selected group of young people from a parent community to establish a new colony; it may be called the *ver sacrum* ("an offering of the firstlings") type, after the Roman institution, but it is a type of communal migration found in many preindustrial societies as a relief from population pressure. A large number of old village names in Germany point to the frequency of this practice in medieval times.

A different type is represented by the overseas migration of Anglo-Saxons and Vikings; these migrations were largely sex- and age-selective, the migrants being mostly young men attached to war-chiefs. Not only did they cast themselves off, temporarily at least, from their home community, but the requirement of effective naval organization led—as in the related

<sup>3</sup> Kant, *Migrationeras Klassifikation*; see also Irwin T. Sanders, "The Nomadic Peoples of Northern Greece," *Social Forces*, XXXIII (December, 1954).

case of the ancient Greeks' overseas migration to Asia Minor<sup>4</sup>—to the replacement of the kinship structure by a new social structure based upon ships' crews and the followings of war-chiefs.<sup>5</sup> In conquered territory, a new type of social order is likely to develop, characterized by kingship and some form of feudalism.

A related type of quasi-communal migrations was the movements of itinerant merchants in the early Middle Ages and the *wandern* of journeymen: wherever they went, they found a community of guild brothers who would extend hospitality and protection to the wanderer. On the other hand, the traveling trader is perhaps in all societies the first social type to emancipate himself from communal ties and primary group control.

Perhaps the extreme contrast to these essentially voluntary communal migrations are those cases of involuntary migration, which involve the expulsion from the home community of persons who adhere to deviating religious- or political-belief systems. These types presuppose the existence of a church —i.e., an authoritative organization for worship—or the development of a political corporate group on a territorial, instead of a kinship, basis. They are therefore characteristic of more complex socio-cultural systems. The expulsion of entire ethnic minority groups, irrespective of the religious or political belief of the individual—essentially an invention of our own age—can in most cases be considered as a special case of political persecution based on the presumption that members of the expelled minority are hostile to the belief system of the dominant group.

Some additional types of involuntary migration, such as the mass transfer of slaves, forced laborers, prisoners of war, and conquered populations need only be mentioned. Just a generation ago, one would have regarded these types as phenomena of a distant past. But the largely involuntary dislocation of possibly a hundred million people since the Russian Revolution demonstrates that internal strife within a "civilization" and aggression by "barbarians" from outside the pale (to use Toynbee's terms) have again become powerful causes of migration.

The type of voluntary migration in modern Western society, which has been the model in migration theory from Ravenstein to Isaac,<sup>6</sup> is characterized by the fact that migrants as a rule move either alone or with their small (parent-child) family, rarely in larger, communal groups. Furthermore, since the closing of the "frontiers" in overseas areas of European settlement, migration has become predominantly a movement of *workers* toward better

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924), 27–92.

<sup>5</sup> George Macaulay Trevelyan, *History of England* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1928), I, 1–132.

<sup>6</sup> Julius Isaac, *Economics of Migration* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1947).

job opportunities. Certainly the movements of entrepreneurs and managers, and the migrations of *rentiers* and pensioners to places of retirement must not be overlooked; although these movements are less numerous, they are still important. However, the bulk of modern migration in the industrial countries of the West and in areas of Western economic dominance consists of the movements of persons in the labor force who are wage earners or salaried workers. Consequently the volume and direction of migration are determined by the condition of the labor market, the rate of gross migration in a given area tending to rise and fall with the level of employment. This is true of internal, as well as international, migration. Likewise, the composition of migration-streams in terms of age, sex, and occupation is determined by labor-market conditions, as is the relation of the volume of migration to the distance between points of origin and destination.

In contrast, migration in preindustrial societies tends to be induced by factors *external* to the economic order: drought, flood, crop failure, and possibly an epidemic. External factors of this kind were a main cause of mass emigration from the economically backward areas of Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. Disregarding noneconomic factors, such as war and persecution, I venture this generalization: the more advanced the economic structure of a society, the greater the importance of intrinsic and social, instead of extraneous and natural, factors in determining volume and direction of migration.

There are, of course, many cases of semivoluntary migration. On the one hand, even the emigration of refugees is often induced by indirect—especially economic—pressure rather than by direct force. On the other hand, the migration of persons in the labor force is not always entirely voluntary, since it may involve transfer of employees by authoritative decision. Moreover, wives and other dependents of migrants will often be compelled by the decision of the head of the household. It is important to keep this in mind, especially when dealing with the selective effects of migration.

2. A typology of migration should also take into consideration the *qualitative differences in the social order* of the areas between which migrants move. In this respect, one might go beyond the conventional classifications of migrations as "rural-to-urban" or "progressive-regressive,"<sup>7</sup> etc. We may possibly gain profounder understanding of motivations and adjustments of migrants by inquiring whether migrants move from a more *gemeinschaft*-like into a more *gesellschaft*-like area or between places of similar social structure. Presumably, the migrant from a predominantly communal (*gemeinschaft*-like) social environment has to overcome stronger socio-psychological obstacles than the migrant from a more associational place of origin.

<sup>7</sup> Jane Moore, *Cityward Migration: Swedish Data* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938). Moore's classification is based upon Gunnar Myrdal's typology of communities.

Similar considerations apply to the adjustment of migrants—other things being equal. However, other things rarely are equal. Especially in "international" migration, so called, the entire pattern of migration is likely to be influenced by the cultural differences between the societies involved.

Some years ago, in an essay on ethnic minorities,<sup>8</sup> I developed a theory concerning the influence of differences in *Zivilisation* and *Kultur* on the adjustment of immigrants, using the two terms in the sense of Alfred Weber's concepts. Unfortunately, the literal translation of these terms into English inevitably creates semantic confusion. Nevertheless, the conceptual distinction between what may be called "technological" and "expressive" culture<sup>9</sup> is indicated by the very nature of the phenomena concerned.

As a rule, voluntary migrants in modern society move from areas of lower to areas of higher technological achievement; this is true at least of manual workers, who tend to move from areas of low economic intensity and backward technique into more advanced areas. They would not be able to compete with native workers in economically backward areas, but in advanced areas they can compete because of their willingness to accept a lower standard of living. However, entrepreneurs, managers, technicians, and highly skilled workers often move from advanced to backward areas in order to promote economic development. In the first case, migrants are likely to be eager to assimilate a technological culture the superiority of which they admire. In the second case, they will remain aloof from the "inferior" natives and preserve their own way of life. Assimilation of a higher technological culture will, as a rule, lead also to adoption of the language, beliefs, and values of the foreign society.

German minorities in Eastern Europe and in Latin America have retained their socio-cultural system with great tenacity through many generations, whereas in the United States, assimilation has, on the whole, been quite rapid; in the first case, the Germans came as carriers of superior agricultural and industrial techniques, or in general as promoters of progress in technological culture; in the latter case, the great mass of German immigrants accepted the technological superiority of American society.

The differences, however, between levels of "technological" and "expressive" culture do not always coincide in degree and direction. It is conceivable that area A is more advanced than area B in matters of technological and sci-

<sup>8</sup> Rudolf Heberle, "Die Bedeutung von Zivilisationsgefälle und Kulturgefälle für die Selbstbehauptung von Auslandsvolksgruppen," *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik*, VI (1936), Heft 2, 178–86; also *Anlandsvolkstum* (Beiheft 2. Arch. f. Bev. Wiss. u. Bev. pol.), Leipzig, 1936.

<sup>9</sup> James W. Woodard, "The Relation of Personality Structure to the Structure of Culture" (*American Sociological Review*, Vol. III, No. 5 [1938], 649), contains the trichotomy "control, inductive, and aesthetic-expressive culture"; see also Howard Becker, "Science, Culture, and Society," *Philosophy of Science*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (1952), 280.

entific achievement, whereas B is regarded as superior in the realms of art, philosophy, and "expressive" culture in general. In that case, migrants from B to A, while readily adopting the more advanced technical and scientific culture, are likely to retain most of their native aesthetic, moral, religious, and metaphysical culture. Assimilation will thus be only partial. Asiatic immigration to the United States furnishes some illustrations of this principle.

Of course, the selectivity of migration is also a factor. Disposition to acculturation depends to a large extent upon the degree to which the migrants had, before leaving their home, shared in their own native culture. Thus, age at migration, educational level, and the premigration class-position of migrants must be taken into account.

The conceptual distinctions presented in this paper do not exhaust all possibilities. Nor is this typology designed to replace the simpler classifications that are indispensable in statistical work. The intention here is merely to outline a few concepts which could form a basis for a general theory of human migration. Such theory would, of course, involve much more than a typology.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Rudolf Heberle, "Die Bedeutung der Wanderungen im sozialen Leben der Völker," *Reine und Angewandte Soziologie* (Tönnies-Festschrift), Leipzig, 1936; also "Theorie der Wanderungen," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, 75. No. 1, 1955.

# Texas Metals Industries

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TEXAS yields nearly one-fourth of the nation's mineral wealth, much of it, of course, in oil, gas, and sulfur. However, Texas was fairly active as a center of the metals industry long before it was a leader in mineral production. In 1955 metals output has been overshadowed by other industrial activities, but not because of its decline. On the contrary, the last decade has seen expanded Texas metallurgy reach a new eminence.

The gigantic armament programs during the Second World War and the Korean conflict created a pressing need for the construction of new plants and expansion of existing ones in Texas, as elsewhere. But defense-building only hastened events that would undoubtedly have taken place later in the 1950-60 decade, for Texas possesses a unique combination of advantages for the production of metals. The Gulf Coast provides easy access to world markets and to ores and concentrates imported from foreign countries. The relatively cheap and stable sources of fuel and power in Texas are necessary for smelting, electrolytic operations, and general plant use. There is a well-integrated air, rail, highway, and canal transportation network. And Texas' raw materials include a plentiful supply of metal scrap, low-grade iron ores, sea water for magnesium manufacturing, and extensive deposits of oyster shell and limestone, readily available for use as fluxes and as chemical agents. A variety of other raw materials is also found in abundant supply. Furthermore, many of the raw materials are found in fortunate juxtaposition to each other, thus contributing to low assembly costs.

Perhaps the most significant fact to keep in mind when analyzing data on metals output in Texas is the wide diversity in products. Texas smelts or refines aluminum, tin, antimony, iron, copper, lead, zinc, cadmium, and, most recently, manganese; a plant to process and concentrate this last valuable mineral was placed in operation at Houston during 1953. Small amounts of indium, gold, silver, and other metals are recovered in certain types of operations, notably copper smelting and refining, but production of them is negligible.

The most revolutionary development within the Texas metals industry has been the growth of light-metals production, specifically of aluminum

and magnesium. Primarily, the producers of these two metals chose Texas for plant sites because of the necessarily large and stable supply of power which could be generated from huge deposits of natural gas and lignite nearby. Then, too, raw-materials orientation was considered to be very favorable. Although it is true that employment created by such electro-process industries is not large in relation to the amount of power consumed, the total number of workers is substantial. On the other hand, no large market for the semifinished products turned out by these industries exists in the Gulf Southwest, at least at present. The market that does exist is an expanding one and its expansion may well accelerate very rapidly if industrialization of the region continues.

Magnesium output got underway in 1940 with the establishment by the Dow Company of a plant at Freeport in Brazoria County. Shortly thereafter, the federal government built two other plants in the same county. After the close of the Second World War both of these plants reverted to stand-by status. Later, Dow purchased the power plant and certain other facilities of one plant for integration with its own operations. The Korean War caused the government to reopen its plant, and Dow still operates it under a contractual agreement. This unit, known to be the most efficient of all the government-owned magnesium plants, is the only such plant still in operation. Recently, the Dow Company constructed a facility designed to recover additional metal from cell sludge at Freeport. The company estimates annual output will be upped by more than 2 million pounds of metal.<sup>1</sup>

Dow was influenced to choose Brazoria County as a prime location for magnesium manufacture because of its tidewater location in an area of the Gulf Coast where the sea water is relatively unpolluted. Oyster shell found in beds along the coast provide an excellent source of the requisite lime. Domes along the coast contain sulfur and salt, both essentials for process operation. About a thousand pounds of magnesium are recovered from each million pounds of sea water, and, in addition, bromine, an important ingredient in "knockless" gasoline, is a by-product.

During the Second World War, another Texas installation turned out the badly needed magnesium. This was the government-owned plant operated at Austin by the International Mineral and Chemical Corporation. The major raw material for this plant was dolomite, quarried in the highland area of Central Texas; power came from the Lower Colorado River Authority. The plant operated for only a short period and was closed down in 1944; the land and buildings are now owned by the University of Texas. In addition to basic resources of sea water and dolomite, Texas has vast quantities of subsurface brines in the western part of the state that are known to contain

<sup>1</sup> "Dow's Magnesium Recovery Plant is Now in Operation," *Chemical and Engineering News*, XXXII (September 27, 1954), 3854.

magnesium salts. If it is feasible to process these brines, they could conceivably be of use should a national emergency demand greatly increased magnesium output at inland locations.

Today the Brazoria County plants are the only producers of primary magnesium in the nation. Although Texas output has been somewhat reduced since the end of the Korean emergency, Dow has faith that the commercial market for magnesium will expand greatly. Civilian sales have shown a steady upward trend, a fact obscured by heavy cutbacks in government buying. Because of its lightness and versatility, magnesium is in growing demand for such widely diversified uses as photoengraving, materials-handling, luggage, aircraft building, alloying with aluminum, and processing titanium.<sup>2</sup>

Only five years ago, Texas produced no primary aluminum, but today three plants are operating, with a total rated annual capacity of approximately 250,000 tons—nearly 20 per cent of the total national capacity—and Texas ranks second only to the State of Washington in aluminum-making. The total annual aluminum payroll has been estimated at \$17.5 million, and the industry has created about 4,500 new jobs in Texas.<sup>3</sup> Plants turning out aluminum ingots are located at Port Lavaca, Rockdale, and Corpus Christi. The first two are owned by the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) and the other by Reynolds Metals.

The listing of reduction plants, however, does not tell the whole story, for Reynolds Metals has built an alumina plant, the only one in Texas, at a seventeen-hundred-acre site near its aluminum reduction operation. This two-phase plant was the first of its kind in the United States.<sup>4</sup> The major raw materials needed for alumina production are bauxite, lime, soda ash, and fuel. Bauxite is shipped to Corpus Christi from mine holdings of the Reynolds Company on the island of Jamaica; lime and soda ash are available locally. Alumina for the Port Lavaca and Rockdale operations is brought in from plants in the South, where bauxite from Arkansas and the Caribbean area is processed. Petroleum coke for all three reduction plants comes from Port Arthur.

While it is almost axiomatic that the economic problems of production are considerably simplified if the plants of multi-process industries can be situated near each other, the economic relationships within the aluminum industry precluded until quite recently any concentration of alumina and reduction plants at mutually convenient locations. The reason for this was basically quite simple. The alumina plants were centered at points convenient for the assembly of raw materials. The

<sup>2</sup> "Sea Water and Old Oyster Shells," *Forbes*, LXXV (February 1, 1955), 19.

<sup>3</sup> Corpus Christi *Caller-Times*, September 26, 1954, p. F2.

<sup>4</sup> Alcoa now has a similarly integrated plant at Vancouver, Washington.

reduction plants, because of the imperative requirements of cheap power, were normally situated close to the sources of cheapest power—hydro-electric.<sup>5</sup>

The decision to put reduction plants in Texas meant that aluminum producers had turned from their traditional reliance on the availability of water power at low cost as the prime factor for plant location. It is true that the cost of hydroelectricity is still below the cost of power generated by thermal processes; but increased technical efficiency in reduction operations economizing on fuel costs has caused the hydrothermal differential to be less important. Proximity to existing alumina plants and other sources of raw materials, nearness to major markets of the nation, and stable supplies of cheap fuel in the form of lignite<sup>6</sup> and natural gas give the Southwest and Texas other strong advantages for economical production. Power costs account for about 10 per cent of the price of pig aluminum; therefore, it is important to have stable supplies near at hand. Since the Pacific Northwest, hitherto the chief source of hydroelectric power for the industry, cannot be relied upon to guarantee a noninterruptable supply, Texas and the South have benefited.

John Krutilla, of the TVA Government Relations and Economics Staff, has made a rather thorough analysis of locational factors affecting the aluminum industry. His findings show that the Gulf Coast is a superior location to the Pacific Northwest for the processing of bauxite into alumina, but that costs are about equal in both areas for the operation of reduction plants. He believes, however, that in the event of increases in the cost of natural gas, further large-scale expansion on the Gulf Coast will be restricted. On the other hand, he thinks that the inability of the industry to secure commitments in the Pacific Northwest for the huge amounts of necessary power will result in retention of present production-levels there. He does not rule out the possibility that lignite may prove to be an economical substitute source of power in the Gulf Southwest, but suggests that its success might leave the field open to numerous imitators.<sup>7</sup>

Recent announcements by Alcoa have added proof of the dynamic nature of the aluminum industry in Texas. The company will begin a \$35 million expansion program in 1955. Two additional potlines will be added at the Rockdale plant and one more at Port Lavaca. Also, production at Rockdale, hitherto restricted to pig aluminum, was expanded in March, 1955, to include extrusion ingot. The latter development means that some of the Rockdale output will go directly to fabricators of finished and semifinished end products, such as window sash, aircraft structural parts, truck-body shapes,

<sup>5</sup> Alfred G. Dale, "Texas Aluminum," *Texas Business Review*, XXVII (May, 1953), 16.

<sup>6</sup> Lignite is used as a source of power at Alcoa's Rockdale plant.

<sup>7</sup> John Krutilla, "Locational Factors Influencing Recent Aluminum Expansion," *Southern Economic Journal*, XXI (January, 1955), 273-88.

and architectural trim.<sup>8</sup> At present there is no rolling mill in Texas or elsewhere in the Southwest. It is unlikely that one will be constructed in the near future, for major markets for rolled aluminum are heavily concentrated in the northeastern part of the nation.

The railways that converge on El Paso caused the attention of the copper industry to focus on that city as a well-placed center for smelting and refining. The El Paso Smelting Works, a subsidiary of the American Smelting and Refining Company, is one of the world's largest custom smelters, and handles ores and concentrates from Mexico, South America, Africa, and Australia, as well as from mines in the American Southwest.

The Phelps Dodge copper refinery in El Paso is reputed to be the largest and most modern of its kind. It has a rated capacity of 240,000 tons a year and refines approximately 30 per cent of all the copper mined in the nation. Phelps Dodge receives unrefined copper from smelters in various parts of the country and processes it, removing other minerals. The end products are electrolytic and fire-refined copper.

In addition to copper, the El Paso Smelting Works produces lead and slab zinc. Annual capacity for refined pig lead at El Paso is approximately 300,000 tons. Fuming of zinc slag produces zinc oxide, which is further treated to recover slab zinc.

There are three primary zinc distilling plants in Texas. Smelters at Amarillo and Dumas employ the horizontal-retort method, and the plant at Corpus Christi uses an electrolytic process. That Amarillo, Dumas, and Corpus Christi are located in areas having substantial gas supplies at low cost was the deciding factor when sites for smelters were chosen. Ores and concentrates move to these smelters from both domestic and foreign sources. An important by-product of the smelting of zinc sulphide ores is cadmium, a mineral seldom found in commercial quantities. It is used in bearing alloys and for electroplating. The Bureau of Mines lists the Corpus Christi zinc smelter as a major producer of primary metallic cadmium in the United States. Sulfuric acid is an additional by-product of zinc smelting. Secondary smelters located in Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio supply local and area needs for lead and zinc.

Texas City was chosen as the site for the Longhorn Tin Smelter, the only tin smelter in the United States, because of its accessibility to ocean-shipping routes and because natural gas was in plentiful supply at low cost. Annual output of the smelter is usually about 30,000 tons. Concentrates for processing come in the main from Bolivia, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Belgian Congo. The plant is said to have a high efficiency rating. Considerable money is saved and a waste-disposal problem eliminated through the operation of a

<sup>8</sup> Austin *American*, March 3, 1955.

unique process for recovery of hydrochloric acid used in smelting operations. Several hundred gallons per month are recovered, about half the total acid requirement.<sup>9</sup>

The future of the Texas City operation is in some doubt. The Eisenhower administration regards continued utilization of the Longhorn smelter as unwarranted (more economical foreign sources of supply are now available) and has announced that the smelter has served its purpose by providing an adequate stockpile. Congress granted a one-year operating extension to the plant this year; stand-by status may result after the extension period is over.

Antimony metal (regulus), used in alloys to give hardness and the property of expanding on solidification, is produced by the Texas Mining and Smelting Division of the National Lead Company at Laredo. The Laredo smelter is designed to produce about 1,000 tons of antimony metal a month from high-grade oxide ores, but the medium-grade mixed oxide and sulphide ores now available for treatment limit the capacity to about 700 tons a month.<sup>10</sup> In 1954 the plant employed approximately 200 persons. Ores are imported from Bolivia, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, and Canada, with by far the greatest proportion being shipped by rail from Mexican mines.

The idea of smelting antimony in Texas originated with H. P. Henderson, a native of Massachusetts, who became interested in a Mexican mine in 1926. A smelter at the mine was facing a shutdown in 1929, and Henderson arranged, with the approval of the Mexican government, to keep the mine operating and to ship the ore to Laredo. Less than two years later, production was begun there. Before the establishment of the Laredo smelter, from 70 per cent to 90 per cent of the world's needs were secured from China.

The growth of the Texas steel industry has been almost as striking as the developments in the light metals. On January 1, 1939, total Texas steel capacity was 4,905 tons. By the beginning of 1954 capacity had risen to 1,789,900 net tons, an increase of more than 500,000 tons above January, 1953. The state now ranks thirteenth in the nation, and although output here may seem minute compared to the 34-million-ton production of Pennsylvania, it is of great significance to the Gulf Southwest. Within the past decade Texas has pushed ahead of Colorado, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, and Washington as a producer of steel, Houston and Lone Star being the chief centers of production. Steel is also produced on a small scale at Longview, Fort Worth, and Pampa.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> "Latent Profit in Stockpile Wastes," *Chemical Week*, LXXIV (May 15, 1954), 50.

<sup>10</sup> Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, *Materials Survey, Antimony*, March, 1951, p. II-34.

<sup>11</sup> The American Iron and Steel Institute reports net capacity of 1,108,000 tons at Houston, 550,000 at Lone Star, 83,100 at Longview, 36,000 at Fort Worth, and 12,000 at Pampa.

Texas had a small iron manufacturing industry in Marion County on the Louisiana border before the Civil War. Local ores were smelted, and agricultural instruments were turned out. Later, when the war was in progress, a shift to ordnance production was made. During the two decades between 1880-1900, a thriving iron industry was underway at New Birmingham (now a ghost town in Cherokee County) and at Rusk in the East Texas ore fields. But by the early 1900's both operations were found to be uneconomical, and furnaces were shut down. Sporadic efforts to revive the industry were unsuccessful.

The Texas steel industry remained almost dormant until 1936, when a survey by Sheffield Steel, a division of the American Rolling Mills Company, revealed that the state had more-than-adequate supplies of scrap iron as a basis for steel manufacture and that the Southwest had a sufficient market-potential for finished steel products. The international emergency hastened construction of a mill at Houston by Sheffield, and the first steel was produced in 1942. Annual capacity when operations began was 200,000 tons; expansion programs have pushed the total to over 1.1 million tons, and approximately 3,650 persons are now employed. Although the mill was located in Houston because of superior port facilities (it is one of the nation's few mills on tidewater) and proximity to a sizable supply of scrap, the Sheffield plant utilizes substantial quantities of ores obtained from East Texas open-pit mines. Lesser amounts of ore have been imported from such distant sources as Brazil and Durango, Mexico. Limestone is secured from deposits in Central Texas, and coking coal is shipped to the mill from Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Sheffield's plant makes a variety of products, most of them specifically oriented to markets in the Gulf Southwest. Included among them are reinforcing steel, staples and nails, wire fencing, wire mesh for construction, pipe skelp, tank heads, plates, and rods. Last year the mill turned out 90,000 tons of high-quality alloy steels of a type needed by the petroleum and aircraft equipment industries. The company jointly owns a welded steel pipe mill with the A. O. Smith Corporation; Sheffield supplies the skelp for making the pipe to the mill, which is located at a site conveniently near the Sheffield plant.<sup>12</sup>

The establishment of the Lone Star Steel Company mill at Lone Star, near Daingerfield in Morris County, was the realization of the hopes of many East Texans. Residents of the area had never given up the idea of a revival of the industry after the New Birmingham and Rusk furnaces were closed down. The federal government pushed the construction of this mill as a defense measure during the Second World War and contributed the major portion of the funds for the original plant. An ore beneficiation plant, a blast fur-

<sup>12</sup> Frank Langston, "Texas Steel," *Texas Parade*, XV (February, 1955), 18.

nace, and facilities for coking were completed. Executives of the company were contemplating the addition of a steel mill, but the close of the war temporarily halted expansion plans. Later, steel-making facilities, financed in part by Texas capital, were built and finally put into operation late in 1953. The plant operates chiefly on ores mined in Morris County about five miles from the plant. Limestone is shipped from Chico in North Texas, and Oklahoma coal is used for coking purposes. On January 1, 1954, employment totaled about 3,000 persons, and the plant was valued at \$160 million.

The location of the plant has been criticized as uneconomic, and doubt has been expressed that the company could successfully weather stiff competition from the big steel companies during a period when the nation's requirements for steel might not be so imperative as during the past decade. However valid these criticisms may have seemed when they were made, the fact is that the company has achieved substantial success to date. Much of Lone Star's progress can be credited to alert management and to its thorough public relations program. Furthermore, the company has wisely tailored its output to fit the unique needs and growing markets of the Southwest and has become one of the nation's leading manufacturers of tubular goods. Its mill to produce welded pipe is an example of production to suit a local market. Professor E. W. Zimmermann, of the University of Texas, pointed out in recent discussion with the author that some steel companies may find it more economical to locate new mills near deposits of low-grade ores, such as those in East Texas, rather than near supplies of coking coal, hitherto often the deciding factor when plant locations were chosen.

The metals industry in Texas seems to hold promise for future growth. Expanding population and rising incomes in the Gulf Southwest, in the nation, and in Latin America are undoubtedly the most powerful factors affecting growth: expansion in population and increases in income mean growing markets. It has been pointed out that the Gulf Southwest does not in itself offer a substantial market for metals other than iron and steel; however, end-products industries that use metals as a raw material are being attracted to the area in increasing number.<sup>13</sup> The region's dynamic construction industry will doubtless continue to offer a sizable outlet for both heavy and light metals. Also, the list of metals processed in Texas might well be augmented by the addition of alkali metals,<sup>14</sup> titanium, and others. Supplies of natural gas, at present the most economical fuel for most metals-operations, are considered adequate for the next half-century.

<sup>13</sup> Examples include Texas Aluminum Company at Rockwall, Chicago Pneumatic Tool at Fort Worth, Rockwell Manufacturing Company at Sulphur Springs, Dearborn Stoves at Dallas, Powers Manufacturing Company at Longview, and Babcock and Wilcox at Paris.

<sup>14</sup> Marshall Sittig, "Alkali Metals: Launched Into a New Era," *Chemical Week*, LXXIV (June 26, 1954), 48.

On the other hand, two possible handicaps can be foreseen. The cost of natural gas could increase enough to make its use for power uneconomical by some metals industries, particularly the light metals. Secondly, the lack of a sufficient fresh-water supply for industrial use could inhibit the installation of new plants and the expansion of those already in operation.

# Book Reviews

*Edited by*  
H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

ROBERT S. AVERY: *Experiment in Management: Personnel Decentralization in the Tennessee Valley Authority.* Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1954. 212 pages. \$4.50.

Just as the states have served as "insulated laboratories of experimentation" in many areas of public controls and services, so has the Tennessee Valley Authority become our best-known testing ground for the relatively new concept of decentralization in personnel administration. It is therefore fortunate that Robert S. Avery has brought us a fresh look at the oft-eulogized personnel policies of the TVA while his own firsthand knowledge thereof is still fresh in his memory and before these policies become enshrined in tradition or lost in complacency.

Both the title and subtitle are well chosen, and the arrangement of the book is excellent. In his introductory chapter Avery spells out the essential attributes of a decentralized personnel program, then raises twenty-seven tell-tale questions which he answers in subsequent chapters.

TVA is clearly identified as a multiple-purpose agency whose corporate flexibility, autonomy, and freedom from Civil Service have made possible a decentralization of the personnel function within the agency. The wide geographic dispersion of TVA operations has been

especially favorable for this attempt to achieve a rational balance between centralized controls and decentralized authority and responsibility, and Avery does not ignore this fortuitous circumstance. Rather, he traces the chronological developments on both fronts—decentralization within the central personnel agency itself and decentralization of the personnel function to operating management.

The chief responsibility of the central personnel agency is to develop personnel policies and standards, make periodic evaluations of the personnel program, and provide centralized services designed to assist operating supervisors without unduly restricting them.

It is a cardinal principle of operating management that employees participate in policy-making. Operating management speaks through the Advisory Committee on Personnel Administration. Employees speak through the Tennessee Valley Authority Trades and Labor Council. Neither the middle management supervisor nor the employee who is not a union member has any effective voice in policy-making.

The central personnel agency endeavors to maintain the integrity of the system and harmonize the activities of the field offices through such conventional devices as routing of memoranda, the personnel office-manual, personnel-officer staff meetings, and "almost

daily" telephonic communication between the central personnel office and the field officer.

The author's objective appraisal of the personnel policies and practices in the Tennessee Valley Authority is a sound, scholarly piece of work which helps to complete the story of this landmark experiment.

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FLOYD A. BOND *et al.*: *Our Needy Aged: A California Study of a National Problem*. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1954. 401 pages. \$4.50.

This volume is based upon a two-year period of investigation made possible by a grant from the Haynes Foundation to the Social Science Research Center at Pomona College. California was chosen as the site for the study not only because of the Foundation's interest, but because of the extraordinary attention given to the problem of the aged in that state.

The aim of this research is to provide an interdisciplinary approach towards the discovery and solution of the crescive problems incident to the increasing longevity of the American populace. Six social scientists—two from each of the fields of economics, government, and sociology at Pomona College—co-operated in the undertaking. The data acquired through the efforts of this team deal specifically with the economic conditions, political attitudes, and social characteristics of a sample group of noninstitutionalized people sixty-five years of age or over.

The material is divided into ten chap-

ters. The first is concerned with California's aged population, its general characteristics, resources, and needs. This is followed by a discussion of the historical background of old-age assistance. The reader is given an interesting and informative account of California pensions, politics, and pressure groups.

The remaining chapters deal respectively with California law and regulations; a comparison of the pension plans of various states; the administration of the California plan under the provisions of the law; the financial aspects of old-age assistance, both in and outside of California; life after sixty-five for both recipients and nonrecipients of O.A.A.; some attitudes and opinions relative to the aged and the old-age assistance program; and recommendations for the future.

The authors have assembled a large body of data which they have presented in interesting and meaningful form. The seventy-eight tables appearing throughout the volume provide graphic assistance in viewing relationships and comparisons. Although the reviewer is impressed with the apparent care exercised by the research group through the course of the study, he questions the wisdom of dropping the scientific mantle in the concluding chapter by the inclusion of the authors' personal feelings.

The book provides insight into the problem of the aged, and, insofar as the study is pertinent to all areas in which this problem exists, it becomes an important source of reference.

Reed M. Powell  
University of Oklahoma

WESTON LA BARRE: *The Human Animal*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954. 357 pages. \$6.00.

This book attempts to unite the biology and sociology of man, or at least to unite primatology, physical anthropology, linguistics, the comparative study of kinship, and clinical psychoanalysis. By comparing the anthropoid apes, primates, mammals, and animals back to the amoeba, man's biological traits are described in a sequence culminating in those which he uniquely possesses as a species, all races equally. These are, pre-eminently, bipedality; the complex of "emancipated" hands, stereoscopic eyes, and elaborated brain; the complex of sexual dimorphism, heightened nonseasonal sexuality, and prolonged infancy; and speech symbolism. Unique is the hypothesis that love born of prolonged dependency, rather than sex per se, created the nuclear (breeding members and offspring only) family. Thus in a sense ontogeny does not recapitulate phylogeny, but produced it!

Together these traits make man human, i.e., cultural. Human-incest taboos within the nuclear family are "the initial (and universal) cultural artifacts," deriving from the fact that "the human female is at once the necessary oral object of the infant and the genital object of the male." Thus the Oedipus "compromise." The Oedipus complex is no longer instinctual, as in Freud's *Totem and Taboo*, which this book reflects, but a cultural invention resulting from biological necessity. For a while it seemed that psychoanalysts might regard the complex as a variable product of specific cultures. Now it has become culture itself.

Technical concern with society in the extrafamilial sense is lacking in this book, since "all adaptive human institutions *including morality* relate to man's oedipal nature." Yes, all: the State, religion, philosophy, economic activity, and science itself. They so relate because the child "introjects" them and "re-projects" them as an adult. The relation is further spelled out, as speculative philosophy, in the final chapter. In between are some penetrating remarks about the similarity of culture and psychosis (and art) and the dangers of attributing "soul"-power to naturalistic processes.

Because of its scope this book will be criticized by many specialists. Most fascinating to the reviewer were the illustrations of interdependence in the development of biological traits, the evolutionary nonsignificance in the development of race, and the categories of perception embodied in grammar. Many of these are useful in teaching, and some are not easily available. The theory of the Oedipus complex and of cultural influences upon infantile physiology has not been singularly fruitful in studies of personality formation to date. To many, it appears that these assertions are unstatable or untrue. But especially if psychoanalytic theory succeeds in integrating anthropology—and the need is there—it will be around for a long time to come.

Stephen T. Boggs  
Stanford University

HERBERT A. DEANE: *The Political Ideas of Harold J. Laski*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1955. 370 pages. \$5.75.

Harold Laski's reputation as a man and a scholar has fallen upon bad times. A quarter of a century ago he was one of the dominant figures in the academic arena, whereas today, within the brief span of five years since his death, his stature has appreciably diminished. This diminution began with the publication of the Holmes-Laski letters, continued through Kingsley Martin's biography, and has now come to a culmination in Deane's dissection of Laski's political ideas. Laski had the ability to make loyal friends, and up until his death there was a conspiracy of silence among them to keep hidden his personal faults and intellectual dilettantism. Deane has now dispelled the smoke screen which has surrounded the myth of Laski and in an able and thoroughly documented book has demonstrated the shallowness and inconsistency of Laski's political position. As the author points out, Laski at no time succeeded in living up to the bright, scholarly promise of his younger days. By the early thirties he had abandoned his pluralistic theory and his burning concern with liberty and the individual and was moving over to the camp of Marxian socialism. Abandoning first his somewhat too agile attempt to limit sovereignty and at the same time support Marxism, Laski soon became involved in insoluble contradictions and finally became a hack writer endeavoring to force the historic development of England and America into conformity with the Marxist analysis. His later works became monotonous and repetitious variations on the Marxian theme, more and more unsupported by fact and unrelated to reality. When Deane concludes his book, little is left of Laski the political theorist. Rarely in the history

of political thinkers has a man risen so high and fallen so quickly in the esteem of his colleagues.

In some ways Deane's book is unconsciously a commentary on our age. The question unanswered by the author is the intriguing one of why Laski achieved the reputation and leadership which he held in the 1930's. The explanation may lie in the climate of liberal opinion prevailing in the post-First World War period, which wanted to believe that perhaps socialism *is* the way to democracy and that the USSR was the maligned victim of the capitalistic exploiters. This was the type of thinking that made possible and understandable the actions of certain of the left-wing New Dealers. Most of these men eventually awakened to the folly of their position, but Laski doggedly persevered on the path he had chosen. Perhaps had he lived longer, and had he retired from political and literary activity long enough to objectively evaluate the events of history, he too might have recanted and realized in his later years the intellectual promise of his youth. Since he was denied this possibility, Deane's book had to be written, if for no other reason than to dispel the myth of Laski which so profoundly influenced both American and English thinking. While it is no longer permissible to respect Laski the scholar, it still remains possible to salute Laski the enthusiast, the befriender of students, the stimulator of controversy, who was not granted the time to correct his own errors and misjudgments.

H. Malcolm Macdonald  
University of Texas

RICHARD T. LAPIERE: *A Theory of Social Control*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954. 568 pages. \$7.50.

Why do people behave as they do? Current attempts to answer this question usually emphasize interaction between the personality of the individual and factors in the situation he faces. The fallible process of socialization and the vagaries of environment, however, do not account very satisfactorily for the stability and consistency that are found in many human activities. LaPiere solves this problem by adding a third set of factors to those of personality and situation—the influences of what he calls "social control."

The individual is conditioned by his long, socially dependent childhood to have a deep-seated need for social status. This status is given him by the small and intimate groups in which he carries on his daily activities so long as he conforms to the norms and standards of the groups. Thus the individual is controlled socially by the power of his closest associates to grant or withhold their acceptance and esteem.

The power of social control, however, is not held to be absolute. The ascendant individual ("leader of men") bends others to his own will rather than to the will of the group and is therefore an agent of countercontrol. He may establish his rule either by the autocratic methods of intimidation and fiat or by the more democratic ones of persuasion and conversion. The person who becomes isolated from status-group influence is also important in society; under certain circumstances he may become an innovator, under others, a sociopath or psychopath.

These general concepts are used in explaining the effectiveness of the sanctions and ideological devices by which group members are controlled, as well as the means by which one group may attain military, economic, or cultural domination over another. The difference in behavior between the elected official and the political boss is explained by distinguishing between authority of office and the place in power structure. Norms and values, morale maintenance, bureaucracy, and social movements all find a place in the theory.

These and related ideas are developed in a readable style and are skillfully clarified by examples from daily life or recent history. As the title warns, however, the book is devoted to theory. It will appeal to mature sociologists, psychologists, and political scientists, probably without being very popular with undergraduate students as a textbook.

A rethinking of the theory of social control calls attention to how little systematic research has been done in this field. Since the factors LaPiere discusses are involved in many of our most pressing social and political problems, it is to be hoped that his book will stimulate rigorous attempts to test the theory.

Bruce M. Pringle  
Southern Methodist University

DONALD DAY AND HARRY HERBERT ULLOM (eds.): *The Autobiography of Sam Houston*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. 298 pages. \$5.00.

Sam Houston did not write an autobiography. He wrote a great deal, how-

ever, and spoke both formally and informally at great length; often his subject was Sam Houston. By taking passages from these sources, supplementing them with accounts from biographies, and tying the work together with comments of their own, the editors have produced a good life-story of a great American.

In the first half of the book the editors draw extensively on *The Life of Sam Houston*, by Charles Edward Lester, published in 1855. In writing his book, Lester had the use of the papers of the late Republic of Texas that had been gathered in its Washington delegation; he also had the benefit of Houston's direction. He incorporated in the book passages from Houston's writings and recorded speeches, and beyond doubt the narrative of events is largely Houston's own product. Still, Lester was more than a mere amanuensis.

In the Lester narrative there is much in evidence the very element that the authors of the work under review say they seek to avoid, namely, "reconstruction after the event, which must always limit both the truth and the usefulness of formal biography." In directing the writing of the Lester book (first published as *Sam Houston and His Republic*), Houston, a lover of battles, often a partisan, and a master strategist in politics, took full advantage of the privileges that go with "reconstruction after the event."

The editors, furthermore, are disposed to accept Houston's version without criticism. This is fitting, since it is their purpose to give Houston's own life-story. At times they even grow aggressive in his behalf. Witness this statement about the situation just before San Jacinto: "Where was David G.

Burnet, who was so insistent on Houston's fighting? He had fled to Galveston out of danger."

The editors go beyond Lester's account, however, and bring together choice selections from Houston's writings and recorded utterances that illustrate his resourcefulness in parrying the thrusts of adversaries, his courage in great crises, his prophetic insight, the might of his loves and hates, and the patriotism that could at times lift him from the company of regional disputants and partisans to the rank of a great American.

In rancor and biting sarcasm some of his letters to John C. Calhoun are unsurpassed, and his statements about Felix Grundy are just as severe. A letter to Edward Hall is more abusive, if less forceful. His love of mystery is illustrated in a letter to John H. Houston: "You want to know 'what the Devil I am going to do in Texas?' Part I will tell you and the balance you may guess at! . . ."

Houston's temperament ran the gamut of human emotions. There is pathos in his farewell message to the Army after San Jacinto, and a keen sense of the dramatic when he gave up his sword with ceremony before his inauguration as President at Columbia. His letters to Andrew Jackson reveal sound ideas of statecraft in a democracy, lofty patriotism, and humble veneration for his distinguished mentor. In his messages to his wife and children he united much advice and admonition with the most gentle sentiments. When the overwhelming opposition against him is taken into account, his forthright utterances against secession are magnificent.

This book brings within a single volume the best that Houston produced by writing and by speeches that were recorded. It might well be entitled *Let Houston Speak for Himself*.

Rupert N. Richardson  
Hardin-Simmons University

JOHN F. CUBER AND WILLIAM F. KENKEL: *Social Stratification in the United States*. Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954. 359 pages. \$4.00.

The collaboration of the coauthors of *Social Stratification* furnishes a demonstration in the social science field of two methodological approaches in a study which is at once theoretically ideological and factually descriptive. Part I, the work of Cuber, is an explanation of pertinent concepts in the terminology employed by sociologists and other social scientists who have been interested in ecological research. Such research can scarcely be conducted without the discovery of stratification in whatever area of society is being studied.

The refinement and delimitation of terms used in the three chapters of Part II introduce a delightful semantic flavor to the exposition, provide the reader with special interest in Part II—the work of Kenkel—and form the basis for the logical conclusions reached in Part III.

The theoretical issues involved in three basic social-stratification concepts—multidimensional *versus* unidimensional stratification, continuum theory *versus* discrete-classes theory, and the issue of functionalism—are treated with clarity, though with slight leaning,

however, toward functionalism. Because of this leaning, the field studies in Part II, described and critically analyzed by Kenkel, afford the kinds of data in sufficient variety that serve as checks and balances at the point of verification of hypotheses previously accepted as proper value-judgments.

The records of field studies chosen for this analysis were (1) a farming community in the central Southwest; (2) the social stratification of a New England mill town; (3) the social stratification in a group of relatively small communities; and (4) the social stratification of a Midwestern city of approximately four hundred thousand population. Methodology employed by the directors of these studies varied because of the different factors involved, such as density of population, mobility of population (horizontal and vertical), vocational pursuits, financial rating, religious affiliations, educational progress, and others. Although these studies were, in the nature of the case, local and designed to discover the social-status system in the local area, the findings were expected, at least in some cases, to have implications for the whole United States.

In Part III both negative and favorable judgments are expressed, with favorable judgments outweighing the unfavorable. The authors conclude by asking four questions: Will there be a continuum and extension of democratic, equalitarian curbs on *laissez faire*? Will there be a continued, or even extended, abundance of material goods made available to a wider income-range? Are interest-group struggles destined to go on ad infinitum? Have we passed the high tide of the "striver personality"? Although the

authors conclude the book with these questions, a careful examination leaves the reader with the impression that even if stratification is destined to remain, its harmful effects will be outweighed increasingly as time marches on. The reviewer commends the authors for a most creditable and timely sociological interpretation of contemporary American society.

Charles D. Johnson  
Baylor University

G. E. LAVAU: *Partis Politiques et Realités Sociales* (Contribution à une Etude réalistre des Partis Politiques). Paris, Armand Colin, 1953. 169 pages. 500 frs.

This is a remarkably well-written refutation of Duverger's analysis and theory of political parties (Maurice Duverger, *Les Partis Politiques*, Paris, 1951). Duverger's thesis is that modern parties distinguish themselves not so much through doctrine and sociological composition as through their organization. Therefore to understand political parties one must study their organizational structure. The only other important factors discussed at length are the electoral system, which has a major influence in shaping political-party systems.

Lavau rejects Duverger's thesis, which he labels "the explanation of political parties through parties and the electoral system," and he presents an entirely different view of the nature of political science than that of Duverger. Since politics is one of the manifestations of life in society, an understanding of political facts can be achieved only through use of historical, sociological, economic, geographic, ethnic,

and legal analyses. Lavau also ridicules Duverger's attempts to find general laws explaining political systems and his frequent use of a jargon taken over from a particular school of American political science.

The first part of the book is devoted to critical examination of the relationship between electoral systems and party structures. By dint of numerous examples, the overemphasis of the influence of the electoral system on the size, behavior, and ideology of parties (in vogue chiefly in the United States and Germany) comes under heavy attack.

In the second part, the author, using tools from the whole range of the social sciences, examines various aspects of three two-party systems (United States, Canada, and Britain), and three multi-party systems (Sweden, Switzerland, and France). Most interesting is the analysis of the reasons for the instability of France, for which he blames the abstraction and idealism of current French political thought rather than the large number of parties. (The section on Sweden shows that a most stable system may have numerous parties.) With the exception of the Communists, he notes that no French party represents a single-group interest. This abstract idealism is caused by the absence of communal life and by a historically centralistic conception of the State.

Even if one does not share Lavau's implied preference for proportional representation, a perusal of this book is worth-while, for it is more than just an able and well-documented attack on Duverger. It is a warning against a type of abstract political science which lays claim to being closed off from the other social sciences, and commits the

same errors with which political scientists tend to charge lawyers.

Charles R. Foster  
Ohio State University

ELIZABETH K. NOTTINGHAM: *Religion and Society*. Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954. 84 pages.

NORMAN F. WASHBURN: *Interpreting Social Change in America*. Ibid. 50 pages.

ROSCOE C. HINKLE, JR. AND GISELE J. HINKLE: *The Development of Modern Sociology*. Ibid. \$0.95.

The three booklets under review speak well for Doubleday and Company's experiment in "Short Studies." Ranging from fifty to eighty pages, these studies aim to present brief, readable surveys of their respective fields for students and laymen. They have been designed as introductory expositions, not as monographic treatises, and they must be judged accordingly.

In the opinion of this reviewer, Nottingham's *Religion and Society* has most skillfully struck that delicate balance between readability and scholarly rigor. It actually is the first introductory work to appear on the sociology of religion. Based on the cumulative studies of Durkheim, Weber, Malinowski and Parsons, it expounds a consistently functionalist frame of reference, quite in keeping with advanced thought in the field. It is likely to prove as interesting to the professional sociologist as to the undergraduate student and is a credit to the writing ability and scholarship of the author.

Washburne's *Interpreting Social*

*Change in America* is more specifically pitched for the undergraduate student. The author discusses the causation, direction, and corollaries of social change in terms of several conceptual schemes—social processes, social movements, and the institutional approach—treating them in a somewhat eclectic, discursive fashion. Despite a certain thinness of style, the booklet manages to cover quite a range of ideas and examples concerning social change.

Hinkle and Hinkle, in *Development of Modern Sociology*, have succeeded remarkably well, considering space limitations, in tracing the growth of sociology from its early Comtean and Spencerian origins, through the quest for scientific status to its present balance between the utilitarian and the scientific, the applied and the theoretical. There is a judicious selection of the outstanding figures and ideas from the field, along with a studied disavowal of any critical appraisal of these. A novel feature of the study lies in its demonstration of the close relationship between sociological development and certain existential features of the American scene. The booklet is compactly written, replete with the lexicon of professional sociologists, all of which may make it rough reading for the sociological novice.

Walter Firey  
University of Texas

WILLIAM HENRY MASTERTON: *William Blount*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954. 378 pages. \$6.00.

Much has been written of late about the businessman-in-politics. Almost as

much ink has been expended on the conspirator. This recent addition to the Southern Biography Series shows that neither is a particularly new phenomenon on the American scene and, indeed, that William Blount (1749-1800) was one who combined both functions.

Blount made his mark in a particularly fevered and confused era. He began his mercantile career in North Carolina before the American Revolution, and he did not slacken in his quest of prestige, power, and profit during the years of readjustment and re-appraisal that followed. As Masterson shows, he began investing his profits in frontier lands, all of them earmarked for speculative resale, seeing therein the quickest route to prominence and preferment.

Neglecting no opportunity that came his way, he did not shrink from any obstacle, regardless of whether it was created by Indians, Spaniards, or his own political associates. His ambitions and his anxieties led him finally into a "conspiracy" which, had it succeeded, might have won Florida for the United States before 1800 but which also might have planted the Union Jack on the western bank of the Mississippi. But the scheme was exposed, and Blount became the first member of the United States Senate to be expelled from that body.

All of this and more are revealed in this detailed but compact biography. In dealing with the manifold and involved activities of this "businessman in politics for the sake of business," the author has sought to maintain an attitude of clinical detachment, though he cannot hide a certain grudging admiration for the very audacity of his subject. More than half the book is devoted

to an account of Blount's business and political manipulations in North Carolina before 1790, the year in which Blount was appointed governor of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio River. The remaining portion deals with his experiences on the Tennessee frontier and with the temptations that drew this onetime Federalist into the activities that resulted in his disgrace.

Although the biographer holds no brief for his hero-villain, he does attempt to defend Blount's attitude toward the West. Thus, at the last, he strives to show that the speculator, for all of his plans to exploit frontier lands, came to feel a genuine sympathy for the settlers of Tennessee and a sincere concern for their interests. It is as if one had set out to demonstrate that a libertine could become the champion of the woman whom he had set out to despoil, and Blount's change of heart is not set forth convincingly.

Despite this attempt to give his "fallen statesman" the benefit of the doubt, Masterson's portrait is one that reveals the subject with most of his warts. If the author's judgments on national events are frequently similar to those that Blount himself might have made, his treatment of the North Carolina and Tennessee backgrounds is detailed, judicious, and based on extensive research. All things considered, this is a volume in which both the author and the editor of the Southern Biography Series may take considerable pride.

*William H. Gaines, Jr.  
Virginia State Library*

O. A. OESER AND S. B. HAMMOND (eds.): *Social Structure and Personality in a City*. New York, Macmillan Company, 1954. 344 pages. \$4.50.

The editors and the other writers deserve a great deal of credit for attempting a most difficult task, especially under the limitations of the available data. Basically this was a UNESCO study "to prepare a factual description of the way of life of different countries and to explore the implications of the postulate 'Wars begin in the minds of men.'" The principal data are the result of interviews, but they are supplemented by data from other studies, questionnaires, and polls. This is the first of two studies, the second of which deals with similar rural material.

The three principal areas explored are the attitudes of the Australian urban citizen, families and children, and social stratification. The approaches are stimulating and the results reveal significant interpretations, such as the attitudes toward social circumstances and national conditions; the analysis of families, with basic reference to interaction patterns of the adjustment of children in their families and in school; and, finally, social stratification in terms of the way people see themselves and the implications of this social structure for families' social relationships and political responsibility.

The material, treated for the most part statistically, often fails to be convincing because of the small numbers involved, in spite of the attempt to make a sample of such a large city as Melbourne. The tables are confusing more often than not. The titles, when there are any, are neither explanatory

nor precise. It is often difficult to tell whether percentages or raw figures are being used, and seldom are the numbers that are involved or the totals indicated.

In a sense the threads of the study are loosely brought together with reference to the far-reaching influences of social stratification. The most disappointing thing about the book, however, is that it fails to present, even in hypothetical form, a conceptual framework of personality patterns under the impact of urban conditions. Within the areas explored, insofar as the writers think the data justify, the close relationships of the sociological and the psychological aspects are pointed out. It is not clear, however, what they think are the composite results of their efforts or what they have contributed to the understanding of the postulate "Wars begin in the minds of men."

Wilbur C. Hallenbeck  
Teachers College  
Columbia University

C. A. OESER AND F. E. EMERY: *Social Structure and Personality in a Rural Community*. New York, Macmillan Company, 1954. 279 pages. \$3.75.

This study of an Australian rural community is a part of a UNESCO project for an international study of communities and social tensions. Both authors are connected with the Psychology Department at the University of Melbourne. They explain that the orientation and methodology are those employed in other studies conducted in their department since 1948, that psychological and sociological (and not anthropological) analyses were attempted, and they "emphasized certain aspects of the community which seemed

important to us, and did not attempt to give a well-rounded over-all picture." They recognized the difficulty of attempting to select one community that would be representative of all those in Australia, but in Chapter 15 they appear to be trying to convince the reader that the community studied is typical of Australian rural communities in general.

Most of the data were secured from tests (Rorschach, Thematic Apperception, and Rosenzweig Picture Frustration) administered to fifty-two school children, and lengthy schedules of questions, like "What Do You Know About Other People?" "Sibling Relations," "Out-of-School Activities," "Peer Group Participation," "Leisure," "Day at Home," "Adult Group Contact," "School Subject Preferences," "Homework," "General," and "Free Choice of Jobs," were completed by the same children.

The results are presented in fifteen short chapters, grouped into five parts. Six appendices describe the methodology, present information about the tests, give the schedules used in the study, supply additional tabular material, and present case studies of farm children based on Rorschach protocols.

As one of the first comprehensive studies of Australian rural communities, the book will be of interest to sociologists and other social scientists in the United States. However, the authors' failure to define many common Australian terms reduces its usefulness for those in this and other countries. Also, much of the analysis, particularly in Part I, would have been substantially improved had rural-community studies in the United States, particularly those of Galpin, Sanderson, Nelson, Brunner,

Zimmerman, Leonard, Loomis, and Sanders, been known and consulted. The intensive statistical analysis employed would seem more in place had it been applied to the interpretation of the results of painstaking experimentation rather than to the responses to questions by fifty-two school children.

T. Lynn Smith  
University of Florida

*The Social Sciences in Historical Study. A Report of the Committee on Historiography.* New York, Social Science Research Council, 1954. 181 pages.

This volume is the second published by the Social Science Research Council's committee on historiography. Like the first report, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*, brought out in 1946, it is a plea for historians to make greater use of the research methods of other social scientists.

After an introductory chapter dealing with the reactions of American historians to the first report and the changes in historical attitudes during the past decade, there is a chapter on the place of history among the social sciences, in which historians are urged to extend the boundaries of historical thought and improve their research methods by making more extensive use of hypotheses as working tools. Then come chapters on the viewpoints and research techniques of the various social sciences, the methods of historical analysis, the concept of change in history, theory and practice in historical methods, and the problems of historical synthesis.

The authors urge historians to scruti-

nize the research practices of other social scientists in order to learn whether they can use some of them to sharpen, clarify, test, and extend their own investigations. They feel that a historian should do much more than merely describe accurately events which have taken place, for the "truly scientific function begins where the descriptive function stops." A historian must explain the causes and results of these events and analyze the interrelationships between them. He can do a better job by taking advantage of some of the systematic procedures developed by other social scientists. If he assumes the role of a social scientist, a historian will not start his research by looking at a body of documents but will begin "with a historical situation that presents a problem" and search for documentary evidence only after formulating tentative working hypotheses. Here the reviewer wishes to enter a cautionary word. Will not a historian be able to muster evidence to support almost any hypothesis if he is prepossessed with certain conjectures before he even begins examining the evidence? Although every scholar must, of course, adopt systematic research procedures, might not the overuse—or rather wrong use—of working hypotheses at too early a stage prejudice him in favor of certain "pet," often unwarranted, theories?

R. John Rath  
University of Texas

ALFRED DE GRAZIA: *The Western Public, 1952 and Beyond*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1954. 226 pages. \$3.00.

This book is based on the well-known study of the 1952 national election, conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan with the assistance of the Social Science Research Council and the Carnegie Corporation. The nationwide study employed a sample of 2,021 cases, of which the Western share was 210, but which, in order to represent the eleven Western states more accurately, was increased to 452 in the original pre-election interviews. However, funds did not permit the use of the larger sample in the post-election interviews. Much progress has undoubtedly been made in polling techniques since 1948, but the fact that it was thought necessary to more than double the original Western sample to attain greater accuracy raises the question in the mind of a native New Mexican as to the adequacy of the samples used. New Mexico's share of the original sample of 2,021 seems to have been 9, and its share in the weighted sample approximately 20. Is it possible to represent the attitudes of the almost 700,000 inhabitants of that state, with their diverse racial, cultural, economic, and other backgrounds, with such tiny samples?

Although some readers may accept conclusions based on such a foundation with reservations, a great amount of interesting material relating to the Western states is in this book. The discussion most meaningful to the present reviewer is that which compares Western Americans with their fellows in the Northeast, Midwest, and South. It is concluded that Westerners are not very different from other Americans and that if one region "were to be singled out as 'typically American' the Western public would be as promising as any

other." However, Westerners voted more strongly for Eisenhower than the nation as a whole, the preference among professional and semiprofessional groups in the West for Eisenhower was stronger than elsewhere, Westerners are much less likely to belong to political organizations than Easterners, the rural West is more isolationist than other rural sections, and the urban West more international in outlook than other urban areas. The old notion that Westerners are more socialistic or individualistic than other Americans does not seem well founded.

Harold Zink  
Ohio State University

MAURICE BERESFORD: *The Lost Villages of England*. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. 445 pages. \$4.75.

The lost villages of England disappeared mostly between 1440-1520, though some were lost before and after this period. Good demographic documents and studies are scarce for this time, especially for villages. Beresford has the field largely to himself and has shown in this excellent book that it is well worth tilling. His archaeological excavation has revealed village plans unmodified by later changes, very valuable in itself. Field patterns as well as street outlines are shown by air surveys. Travelers, from Rous to Goldsmith, have commented upon the villages and were much disturbed by the desolation. So, indeed, was the government which initiated a series of proceedings against the depopulators between 1515-60. The author has used this remarkable variety of sources to good purpose and in interesting fashion.

The main trends of the development, fortunately presented in a monograph rather than in a series of articles, seem solidly established. Many of the villages, already in feeble health before 1348, were further enfeebled by the Black Death, but lingered on for another century. The death of villages was, of course, a continuing phenomenon, as population shifted for a number of reasons. However, the greatest depopulation resulted from the landlords' desire to convert arable land to pasture for greater profit. Many of the villages were marginal, and their inhabitants apparently were persuaded without difficulty to move in the fifteenth century. The movement gained in popularity and momentum but was arrested in the sixteenth century by increasing population and official opposition. The author gives long lists of deserted villages but does not assay a total either for the villages or their population. (A quick estimate shows about nine hundred villages, including quite small places, and perhaps eighty to a hundred thousand persons).

Beresford rewards the visual-minded with good illustrations of village sites and documents. He shares with the reader his methods of research and eager enthusiasm for his subject in ways which might explain even to teenagers why scholars find scholarly research so gripping. He has presented an almost unworked and significant subject in an original and effective manner.

Josiah C. Russell  
University of New Mexico

ARNOLD H. KAMIAT: *The Ethics of Civilization*. Washington, D.C., Pub-

lic Affairs Press, 1954. 80 pages.  
\$2.00.

JOSEPH BARRELL: *A Philosophical Study of the Human Mind*. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. 575 pages. \$6.00.

*The Ethics of Civilization* is a well-written little book in which the author not only adumbrates his version of the good society but manages to criticize several alternative versions as well. One need only reflect upon the fact that all of this is accomplished in eighty pages to realize the major shortcoming of the volume. Although perhaps aspiring to be more, the work is effectively merely a profession of faith, and because the faith expressed is hardly unusual and certainly far from clear in detail, there is little here, in my opinion, that is of intrinsic interest or importance.

Still, it may be reassuring in our time to encounter a spokesman for the life of reason, for the belief that man can through his use of reason build a better world for himself. I would imagine, however, that the humanist position will not be much advanced until its proponents exhibit a far subtler sense of its difficulties than does Kamiat. Consider, for example, his basic assumption—nowhere defended, nor even explicitly stated—that a healthy, mature, happy individual will be co-operative, loving, just, uncompetitive, peaceful, etc. May it not be wishful thinking to suppose that only these values are capable of sustaining a healthy, happy individual? Whatever the correct answer may be, no answer is obviously correct, and any answer needs an explicit defense; that the author does not defend his conviction is a curious blindness in

a professedly tentative, nonauthoritarian investigation.

*A Philosophical Study of the Human Mind* is an effort by an "outsider" (a teacher of philosophy) to probe more adequately the mysteries of the human personality. Rather surprisingly, in view of what one might expect from a philosophical orientation, the author largely avoids the consideration of basic metaphysical questions and generalizations of the broadest kind, attempting instead to grapple with the problem of the classification of personality types. The author relies for his data chiefly upon "case histories" from his own experience, interpreting these histories by means of an admixture of orthodox psychology and common sense.

In justification of his fitness as an "outsider" to undertake this kind of a study, Barrell suggests (1) that it does not require a psychologist to collect the wisdom of psychology, and (2) that, indeed, the outsider, since he is not a partisan of any particular school of psychology, is more likely to be impartial than the professional psychologist, and therefore may be in a better position to amalgamate the important truths of the area. Without disparaging whatever value the work may have as psychology (which I am not competent to judge), I suspect that this justification will not do. To be an "outsider" in any significant sense means to be less familiar with the field than the "insider," surely a serious disadvantage; to justify his incursions into alien fields, then, the outsider should possess certain compensatory advantages. But one of these advantages, surely, is not greater impartiality, an illusion probably arising from a mistaken analogy with legal

procedure; there is no valid reason in this context for thinking of the outsider as more impartial. Nor is it quite true that it does not take a psychologist to collect the wisdom of psychology, for, other things being equal, the psychologist is precisely the one who would best collect such "wisdom." If the author's aim in this work has been realized, it is because he possesses through natural ability or training special compensatory advantages, or because he is not really an "outsider" at all. If he has failed in his aim, it may well be because he has attempted to out-psychologize rather than to out-philosophize the psychologists.

Daniel Kading  
University of Texas

LILLIAN COHEN: *Statistical Methods for Social Scientists*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954. 181 pages.  
\$5.35.

This book is a forward-looking, one-quarter or one-semester text on statistical methods for students of sociology. It covers very briefly, but fairly clearly, the elementary concepts of descriptive statistics, sampling, distributions, confidence intervals, testing hypotheses, *t*-test, chi-square tests, association—including fourfold tables—and regression. Tables are given of squares, percentiles of distributions (normal, *t*,  $\chi^2$ , 95 per cent confidence limits for proportions and for the correlation coefficient), random numbers, and a conversion table from *r* to *z*. Included is a good selection of problems and examples dealing with practical sociological data. Subject to the criticisms below, I recommend it highly.

Considerable caution should be taken in using the book. There are several places where the statements made oversimplify the situation or where "consequently" is used incorrectly. For instance: on page 88, the italicized statement about the sampling distribution of means approximating a normal curve is not rigorously correct, though perhaps appropriate for practical problems. On page 106, the statement is made that "the distribution of  $s/\sqrt{n-1}$  is not normal, and, consequently, the sampling distribution of the *z* score  $(\bar{X}-M)/(s/\sqrt{n-1})$  is not normal." The sampling distribution of *z* would not necessarily be normal even if  $s/\sqrt{n-1}$  were normal. On page 97, the formula for the standard deviation of  $\bar{X}$  has the *n* in the denominator changed, without apparent reason, to an  $(n-1)$ . This gives the impression that the  $(n-1)$  factor has a connection to  $\bar{X}$  instead of to *s*. On page 90, the statement at the bottom might better read: "We can say how probable our sample mean is if it comes from this hypothetical universe," rather than "how probable it is that our sample mean does come from this universe." Noted on page 135: it would be surprising in a chi-square table to have the observed frequency equal the expected frequency, even for independent variables.

Errata noted: On page 99, the formula should have the  $\sqrt{n-1}$  in the numerator. On page 118, formula 20 should have squares on the  $\sigma$ 's under the square-root sign.

Frank Massey  
University of Oregon

MARBURY B. OGLE, JR., LOUIS SCHNEIDER, AND JAY W. WILEY: *Power, Order, and the Economy*. New York, Harper & Bros., 1954. 852 pages. \$6.00.

This volume, as the authors state, is one kind of answer to the increasing demand for "integrative" texts in the social sciences. They teach at Purdue, where such a course is given, and represent three disciplines: Ogle is a political scientist, Schneider, a sociologist, and Wiley, an economist. The text gives the student a conception of what the three disciplines are about and what problems they deal with. This it does without giving a survey of each of them, but by the inclusion of "materials that have recognized significance."

Power, order, and the economy are the three major themes of the text. Power is the central focus of political science and order of sociology. Economy is, of course, the central concern of economics. These concepts are utilized as integrating themes throughout the volume, whether the materials are from political science, sociology, or economics. By means of these concepts and in other analytical ways, the authors attempt to "build a number of bridges across, and point to important linkages among, the disciplines."

An appropriate statement is made on rationality in the actions of men. The authors recognize the limitations upon rationality on verbal and nonverbal levels and refer to them throughout the volume. However, they acknowledge that man does act—more often than many suppose—with reason and intelligence. "We must beware of some social scientists and psychologists who

would strip man of all rational faculties and pretend that he is utterly incapable of reason. This is as unrealistic as it is to fail to recognize that there are limitations upon rationality. Men often do think out a course of action and then act upon what they have thought out as carefully and intelligently as they can."

One of the most significant chapters, especially for the student, is "The Individual and Society." This chapter is all too brief for the important ideas it develops. While giving due recognition to culture norms in the shaping of personality, the writers emphasize the counter theme of individuality. "A positive culture value may be placed on allowing considerable freedom and creativity to each individual, and the very agreement that each shall have scope for his individuality may be an order preservative element. Order, then, does not necessarily imply slavish adherence to custom or a denial on the part of the social scientist, of the elements of independence, individuality, or originality. . . . The individual's independence—his innovative and creative tendency—is manifested in many fields."

The writers also consider the matter of adjustment in their discussion of the individual and society. All manner of men, from psychologists to popular lecturers, have emphasized adjustment and made plain that "adjustment is excellent" and "maladjustment is unfortunate." The writers point out that "adjustment" seems to be the modernized equivalent of "the saved" and maladjustment the equivalent of "the damned." Adjustment in a sense means being "fitted to." But the authors ask and elaborate on the important question, fitted to *what*?

The text is too much like a lecture in its meticulousness of detail and qualification, and it lacks humor. Humor is effectively used in teaching; why not more of it in a teaching instrument, the text? There are a number of significant tables and pictures to brighten the text.

A. Stephen Stephan  
University of Arkansas

THURMAN ANDREW: *Property, Profits and People*. Washington, D.C., Progress Press, 1954. 242 pages. \$3.75.

The author, a writer in the fields of electricity and mathematics, and now economics, states that his sole purpose in writing this book is to call attention to the weakness of the profit system and to show how the system can and should be modified.

First he attacks such capitalistic citadels as the institution of private property, profits, interest, and the banking system. The law of property makes for injustice, inequalities, and antisocial intercourse. The basic law of property was not established as a result of social contract, but as a result of seizure and expropriation. It seems remarkable to the author that such an undemocratic law has been permitted to exist with little or no change.

The law of property gives exclusive right to the owners to levy a tribute on all nonowners. Once the law is established, profits become an incentive for economic struggle among men of unequal bargaining power. This struggle leads inevitably to economic injustice, poverty, and other social ills. "Robbery" and "profits" are synonymous. Since all productive facilities are owned by an

exclusive group, and since non-property holders are dependent on the use of these facilities, the worker is forced to work at terms fixed by the owner—terms which are set to guarantee a profit. Since the entire national product is produced by the worker, it follows that the profit of the capitalist is parasitic or predatory. The author applies the same analysis to other types of unearned income, such as rent and interest. The price-and-profit system results in market surpluses and gluts.

To rectify the social and economic injustices of the profit system, Andrew declares that the power of property must be taken through democratic processes. Workers should be permitted to buy capital equipment, without paying interest on the money. If that is done, workers will become the owners of the nation's capital. We must change from a profit economy to one of "possession-for-use." We are assured that under the new type of economy, business fluctuations and unemployment will cease; poverty will no longer be a problem; there will be no more exploitation; we will have achieved the "just and good society."

This volume relies mainly on the theory of exploitation of property and wages. It is a pedestrian presentation compared to some of the writings of the founders of this theory, such as Sismondi and Marx, and the more recent writers, such as Strachey. There are overstatements and inconsistencies. The engineer - inventor - college instructor and nascent economist shows little originality.

Paul E. Nelson  
University of Oklahoma

WILLIAM EBENSTEIN: *Modern Political Thought: The Great Issues*. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1954. 806 pages. \$7.00.

One who has used in class the earlier version of this anthology (*Man and the State*, 1947) can testify that it is a valuable and provocative text for the study of certain areas of recent political speculation. The present book differs from the earlier mainly in having a new, but disappointingly narrow, section entitled "Philosophy, Psychology, and Politics" and fresh material on those entitled "Liberty and Loyalty," "Private Property and Free Enterprise," and "The Welfare State"; a number of selections have been dropped, including several criticisms of "democracy." The book can be recommended for use with sophisticated students, but is probably unsuitable for those who have not been exposed to a history of political thought, since a student ought not to gain his first idea of Plato from a smart essay by Bertrand Russell, nor assume that the importance of Rousseau, Hitler, and Talcott Parsons is proportionate to the pages allotted to each (six, two, and fourteen, respectively).

The ninety excerpts are divided among sixteen chapters, each of which has a brief critical introduction and some such title as "The Right to Rebel," "The Politics of Pessimism," "Democratic Socialism," or "War: the Sovereign Assassin." Ebenstein calls his arrangement "the great issues" method, certain disadvantages of which may be noted. In the first place, it introduces arbitrary categories of thought and is liable to produce in the simple-minded reader that naïve absolutism which is inimical to scholarly understanding. It

leads to thinking in blacks and whites instead of the gray in philosophy. The greatest political thinkers do not fall into neat categories: for example, Hegel and Hobbes ought not to be bundled up as "anti-democratic" thinkers, and Marx may well be a hyperdemocrat rather than an antidemocrat.

A grave weakness is the omission of some most vital contemporary ideas. There is nothing specifically on constitutionalism and conservatism, nothing on Roman Catholic social thought, little on Niebuhr's sober critique of liberal optimism, nothing approaching the dreadful suggestions of Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, no hint of Isaiah's Berlin's or Michael Oakeshott's views on the trend of political speculation and education, nothing of the neo-idealistic theory of the State. The book, in spite of its conscientious contemporaneity in certain matters, does not echo the rising note of disillusionment and revision which is the reaction of the 1950's to the hectic controversies of the 1930's.

Raymond English  
Kenyon College

CHARLES P. CURTIS: *It's Your Law*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954. 178 pages. \$3.75.

MILTON R. KONVITZ (ed.): *Bill of Rights Reader*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1954. 591 pages \$6.50.

Charles P. Curtis will be remembered as the author of *Lions under the Throne* and as a distinguished practicing attorney in Boston. His present work is a witty, erudite, and thoroughly interesting book about law as it is expounded

by lawyers, and the courts. The reader is introduced to the advocate as the defender of the interests of his client in the adversary process we call a suit, to the lawyer as a participant in the process of law-making and finally to the trial and appellate courts as the administrators of the law. The author has drawn upon his own professional experiences and illustrates his points by copious citations from cases and legal literature. As he states in his preface, "I have tried to write about the most interesting things in the Law, because I think that they are most likely to be the important things." In doing this he deals with more than legal problems and structures and includes within his scope the realms of morality, sociology, and psychology. The book will be enjoyed fully by the sophisticated but the lay reader likewise will find it stimulating. One can predict that many of its *bons mots* will be recounted by lecturers on government and jurisprudence in our university classrooms.

Konvitz in his *Bill of Rights Reader* edits and organizes some eighty cases dealing with civil liberties and the Bill of Rights. The majority are recent cases, including the leading decisions on loyalty, labor relations, and discrimination and thus present the Bill of Rights in its contemporary environment. There is probably no better case book available in the field today and it should prove of considerable usefulness to teachers of American government and constitutional law. Of special value is the inclusion of the dissenting and concurring opinions as well as the basic decisions. The editing has been skillfully done and Konvitz is entitled to our kudos for making so conveniently available the

documentation of man's unending struggle for the right to be free under law.

H. Malcolm Macdonald  
University of Texas

AUSTIN F. MACDONALD: *State and Local Government in the United States*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1955. 667 pages. \$6.00.

Macdonald has rewritten his well-known college text, *American State Government and Administration*, so as to put greater emphasis on local government. Actually it is a new text, as the older volume's material on state government has been substantially compressed, and the part dealing with local government correspondingly expanded. The new work devotes approximately equal space to state and local government, yet the essentials of state government have not been sacrificed. All major governmental problems are given adequate treatment. The organization is excellent and the format pleasing.

The book should have considerable appeal to those whose courses cover the combined fields of state and local government in a single semester.

Dick Smith  
Tarleton State College

## Other Books Received

June, 1955

Blotner, Joseph L.: *The Political Novel*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science, 1955. 95 pages. \$95.

- Bram, Joseph: *Language and Society*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology, 63 pages. \$ .95.
- Dale, Alfred G.: *An Economic Survey Method for Small Areas*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 41 pages. \$2.00.
- Eisenmann, Charles: *The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Law*. Paris, UNESCO, 1955. \$1.00.
- Escuela de Contabilidad Economía y Administración*. Edición especial conmemorativa de la III Conferencia interamericana de Contabilidad, Volumen VII. Monterrey, Mexico, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. 113 pages.
- Gillespie, James M. and Gordon W. Allport: *Youth's Outlook on the Future: A Cross National Study*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Doubleday Papers in Psychology, 1955. 61 pages. \$.85.
- Gillespie, John: *Public Employees and Social Security: Questions and Answers*. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, Public Affairs Series No. 22, 1955. 16 pages. \$.15.
- Godfrey, E. Drexel, Jr.: *The Fate of the French-Non-Communist Left*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science, 1955. 75 pages. \$.95.
- Greer, Scott A.: *Social Organization*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology, 1955. 68 pages. \$.95.
- Grimes, Alan Pendleton: *American Political Thought*. New York, Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1955. 500 pages. \$6.00.
- Guide to Municipal Auditing in Louisiana*. PAR Guide No. 5, February, 1955. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana. 32 pages. \$.25.
- Gyorgy, Andrew and Hubert S. Gibbs (eds.): *Problems in International Relations*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 313 pages. \$3.00.
- Herskovits, Melville J.: *Cultural Anthropology*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955. 546 pages. \$5.00.
- An International Bibliography of Sociology: Current Sociology*, Vol. III, 1954-55. Paris, UNESCO. 79-277 pages. \$1.00.
- International Political Science Abstracts: Documentation Politique Internationale*, Vol. IV, No. 3. Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 339-523 pages. \$1.00.
- International Social Science Bulletin: Mathematics and the Social Sciences*, Vol. VI, No. 4. Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 581-752 pages. \$1.00.
- Longman, Donald R. and Michael Schiff: *Practical Distribution Cost Analysis*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 442 pages. \$6.00.
- Macdonald, Austin F.: *American State Government and Administration*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 651 pages. \$6.00.
- Mason, Lester B.: *The French Constitution and the Social Question in the*

'*Old Regime, 1700-1789.* Bonn, Germany, Heinrich-Trapp, 1954. 117 pages. \$1.75.

Neufeld, Maurice F.: *Day In, Day Out With Local 3, IBEW: A Study of Local Union Government and Administration.* Ithaca, New York, Cornell University, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Bulletin No. 28, 1955. 68 pages.

*Notes on the Industrialization of Texas,* Series 2. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955.

Phillips, Charles F.: *Competition? Yes, but . . .* New York, Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., 1955. 21 pages.

Pyle, William W.: *Fundamental Accounting Principles.* Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 788 pages. \$6.00.

Reshetar, John S., Jr.: *Problems of Analyzing and Predicting Soviet Behavior.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science, 1955. 61 pages. \$.95.

Saunders, Lyle: *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest.* New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1954. 303 pages. \$4.50.

Silvert, K. H.: *A Study in Government: Guatemala.* New Orleans, Tulane University, Middle American Research Institute, 1954. 98 pages.

Spriegel, William R. and E. Lanham: *Job Evaluation in Municipalities,* Personnel Study No. 9. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1954. 116 pages. \$1.00.

Spriegel, William R. and E. Lanham: *Job Evaluation in Utility Companies,* Personnel Study No. 10. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1954. 126 pages. \$1.00.

Talbert, Robert H.: *Spanish Name People in the Southwest and West.* Fort Worth, Texas Christian University, 1955. 87 pages. \$2.00.

*This Is Our Story: Fifty Years of Educational Progress Under the New York State Board of Regents.* New York University, Albany, 1954. 41 pages.

White, Manchip J.: *Anthropology.* New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. 190 pages. \$2.75.

Windmuller, John P.: *American Labor and the International Labor Movement, 1940-1953.* Ithaca, New York, Cornell University, Cornell International Industrial and Labor Relations Reports, 1954. 232 pages. \$3.00.

# The Association: Proceedings Of the 1955 Convention

*Minutes of the Executive Council of the Southwestern  
Social Science Association, Thursday, April 7, 1955*

The meeting was called to order by President Boyer at 7:10 P.M. Officers present were: P. F. Boyer, John W. White, O. J. Curry, Leon C. Megginson, Carl M. Rosenquist, H. R. Mundhenke, Frederic Meyers, and W. H. Baughn. Section chairmen present were: H. J. Meenen, Cleatice L. Littlefield, Harry E. Hoy, Vergil A. Shipley, W. H. Masterson, and Sandor B. Kovacs.

President Boyer announced that a tentative reservation had been made at the Plaza Hotel in San Antonio, Texas, for the 1956 meeting. The question of adequate display space for publishers and the desirability that this space be located near the registration table was raised by Baughn. It was moved by Meyers and seconded by Baughn that the Plaza Hotel be considered for the 1956 meeting place, subject to the provision that the hotel be able to furnish (gratis) twenty-five hundred square feet of display space suitably located. Motion carried unanimously.

The question of the relationship of the Association to the American Business Writing Association was raised, and some of the difficulties involved in the present arrangement were pointed out. It was the opinion of the Executive Council (without a formal vote) that

the President should be responsible for notifying the ABLA of the meeting places chosen by our group. Beyond this, the SWSSA will take no responsibility to publish the program of the ABLA, either in our *Quarterly* or in our annual program.

As the General Program chairman, Baughn suggested that some procedures be prepared, reduced to writing, and passed on to succeeding program chairmen and section chairmen. These procedures would facilitate their activities and tend to improve the quality of the programs. He was asked by the President to prepare a SOP to be circulated to the officers for their approval.

It was moved by Meyers that General Program Chairman W. H. Baughn be given a vote of thanks. Motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

President Boyer led a discussion concerning the advisability of establishing honorary memberships in the Association. He suggested that members with twenty years of consecutive service who retire from their professional work be given an honorary membership in the Association. Following discussion, the President appointed a committee composed of the immediate Past Presidents—Rosenquist and Mundhenke—to report to the general business meeting on

Saturday morning. This report is to be presented by the chairman of the Constitutional Amendments Committee.

The Editor of the *Quarterly* presented his report. (See the minutes of the general business meeting for a copy.) It was moved by White that the Editor be given a vote of thanks for his work on the *Quarterly* during the preceding year. Motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the financial report for the Association for the preceding year. (See the minutes of the general business meeting for a copy.) It was moved by White that the Secretary-Treasurer's report be accepted. Motion was seconded and passed unanimously. It was moved by Meyers that the Secretary-Treasurer be given a vote of thanks for his work during the preceding year. Motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

A discussion concerning the advisability of having an inventory of back

copies of the *Quarterly* followed. No action was taken.

There was a discussion of the Endowment and Institutional Membership committees but no action was taken.

Second Vice-President O. J. Curry led a discussion of the method to be used in obtaining new members in the organization. It was suggested that his comments be referred to the incoming Second Vice-President for his guidance.

It was moved by Baughn that the Executive Council recommend to the Constitutional Amendments Committee that the first vice-president automatically succeed to the presidency at the end of his term of office so that he can start his work earlier in the year. The motions were seconded and passed unanimously.

It was moved that the Council adjourn. Motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

Leon C. Megginson  
Secretary-Treasurer

#### *Minutes of the General Business Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Saturday, April 9, 1955*

The meeting was called to order by President Boyer at 8:00 A.M. in the Hotel Adolphus. Forty-five members were present. Second Vice-President O. J. Curry gave the report for the Membership Committee. This report was accepted by the President.

Joseph C. Pray, chairman of the Institutional Membership Committee, gave the report for that committee. This report was accepted by the President.

Aldon S. Lang, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, gave the report for that committee. This report was accepted by the President and is attached

to these minutes and becomes a part thereof. It was moved by Lang that resolutions be adopted. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

Secretary-Treasurer Leon C. Megginson gave the financial report for the preceding fiscal year and moved its adoption. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously. The report was accepted by the President and becomes part of these minutes.

Tom Rose, chairman of the Audit Committee, introduced James M. Owen, a member of that committee, who gave the audit report. It was moved

by Richardson that the audit report be accepted. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously and the audit report becomes part of these minutes.

Frederic Meyers, Editor of the *Quarterly*, reported on the activities of the *Quarterly* for the preceding year. The motion was made that his report be accepted. This motion was seconded and passed unanimously, and the report becomes part of these minutes.

A discussion was led by H. L. McCracken concerning the editorial policy of the *Quarterly*. McCracken moved that the editor evaluate manuscripts submitted to him on the basis of merit, whether they were delivered at the convention or not. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

W. H. Baughn, General Program chairman, reported on his activities. He commended Ralph Green, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, and reported that the Association made nearly seven hundred dollars on the book exhibits and advertising. His report was accepted by the President.

G. W. McGinty, chairman of the Constitutional Amendments Committee, recommended that Article III of the constitution, entitled "Memberships," be amended by inserting the words "or institution" following the word "individual" in the first line of that article. The article would then read: "Membership in the Association will be open to any individual or institution interested in the promotion of the purposes of the Association." It was moved by Shipley that the recommendation be accepted. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously and now becomes part of the constitution.

The chairman of the Constitutional

Amendments Committee recommended that Article III of the constitution be amended by inserting the following sentence at the end of the first paragraph: "Individuals who retire from active service in their respective employment after fifteen years of membership in the Association, immediately prior to their retirement, shall become life members and exempt from payment of dues." This proposal was presented with the unanimous consent of the Executive Council. The Constitutional Amendments Committee reported this proposal without action. It was moved and seconded that this proposal be accepted. Following a discussion, the motion passed twenty-seven to eight.

The chairman of the Constitutional Amendments Committee proposed that the constitution be amended by inserting in Article III—Membership—the following paragraph which would become paragraph 3: "Members who retire without eligibility to life membership as stipulated above may be elected to such membership by a majority vote by the Association membership at a regular business meeting upon the recommendation of the Executive Council." The chairman pointed out that this proposal had received the unanimous consent of the Executive Council and was reported unfavorably by the committee. The proposal failed for lack of a motion.

The chairman of the Constitutional Amendments Committee proposed that the constitution be amended by striking out the words "two Vice-Presidents" in line 1, paragraph 1, Article IV, and inserting the words "a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President." This amendment would make the paragraph

read: "The Offices of the Association shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary-Treasurer, an Editor-in-Chief of Publications, a General Program Chairman, and the Section Chairmen."

It was further proposed to amend line 1, paragraph 2, Article IV, by striking out "President and" and inserting as a second sentence of this paragraph the following: "The First Vice-President shall succeed to the Presidency at the end of his term as First Vice-President." The chairman pointed out that this proposal was passed unanimously by the Executive Council and that the Constitutional Amendments Committee reported the proposal without recommendation. It was moved by John Kane that the constitution be amended as above. This motion was seconded and passed unanimously and now becomes part of the constitution.

Joseph C. Pray, chairman of the Institutional Membership Committee, read the following resolution and moved its adoption: "Be it Resolved, in annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, April 9, 1955, That there be three classes of institutional memberships with dues payable annually based on the following criterion:

Class	Institutional Size in Annual Student Enrollment		Amount
	A	B	
A	0-1,000		\$15.00
B	1,000-5,000		25.00
C	5,000 and over		50.00

A list of institutional memberships will be published annually in the *Quarterly*. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

John Kane, chairman of the Committee for Nomination of Officers, made the following nominations: President: John W. White, University of Arkansas; First Vice-President: O. J. Curry, North Texas State College; Second Vice-President: J. William Davis, Texas Technological College.

President Boyer asked for nominations from the floor. There were none and it was moved by Frederic Meyers and seconded by G. W. McGinty that the nominated officers be elected by acclamation. The motion was passed unanimously.

President Boyer read the list of chairmen and editors elected by the various sections. It was moved that we adjourn. Motion seconded and passed unanimously.

Leon C. Megginson  
*Secretary-Treasurer*

Secretary-Treasurer's Report, Southwestern Social Science Association, Comparative Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Year Ending March 15, 1954, and 1955

	1954	1955
<i>Cash receipts from:</i>		
Individual memberships . . .	\$1,959.00	\$1,629.00
Library memberships . . .	760.00	731.00
Institutional memberships . . .	-----	95.00
Sales of back issues		
of <i>Quarterly</i> . . . . .	33.00	71.50
Display space at convention . . . . .	375.00	150.00
Advertising in <i>Quarterly</i> . . . . .	42.50	226.67
Advertising in annual program . . . . .	50.00	100.00
Receipts from banquet . . .	264.00	376.20
Sale of reprints . . . .	11.70	34.50
Miscellaneous . . . . .	-----	24.96*
Total cash receipts . . . . .	<hr/> \$3,495.20	<hr/> \$3,438.86
<i>Cash disbursements for:</i>		
<i>Quarterly expenses:</i>		
March . . . . .	\$ 745.00	\$
June . . . . .	770.57	807.85
September . . . . .	753.88	942.86
December . . . . .	859.49	82.70
Editor's petty cash expense . . . . .	51.00	102.11
Wrappers . . . . .	48.00	14.85†
Total . . . . .	<hr/> \$3,227.94	<hr/> \$1,950.37
Less contribution of University of Oklahoma .	250.00	<hr/>
Net <i>Quarterly</i> expenses . . . . .	<hr/> \$2,977.94	<hr/> \$1,950.37
<i>Convention expenses:</i>		
Printing programs . . . .	\$ 200.26	\$ 116.62
Expense of general program . . . . .	39.20	66.25
Banquet expense . . . .	295.65	366.30
Registration expense . . . . .	-----	50.45
Total . . . . .	<hr/> \$ 535.11	<hr/> \$ 599.62

*Cash disbursements (continued)**Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer:*

Postage . . . . .	\$ 79.84	\$ 55.00
Stationery and office supplies . . . .	117.95	7.35
Clerical expenses . . . .	325.08	203.16
Miscellaneous . . . . .	4.00	15.72
 Total . . . . .	 \$ 526.87	 \$ 281.23
 Other expenses:		
File Cabinet . . . . .		\$ 45.63
Freight to transfer records to Baton Rouge, La. . . .		16.08
Miscellaneous . . . . .		36.50
 Total . . . . .	 \$ 98.21	
Total cash disbursed . . . . .	\$4,039.92	\$2,929.43
Excess of (disbursements) or receipts for the year . . . .	(\$ 544.72)	\$ 509.40
Add cash balance at beginning of year . . . . .	1,665.15	1,120.43†
 Cash balance at end of year . . . .	 \$1,120.43	 \$1,629.83

**Comparative Membership Data**

	1953	1954	1955
Individual members . . . . .	547	530	554
Library members . . . . .	179	167	189
Institutional members . . . . .	8	...	13
Life members . . . . .	13	13	13
Student members . . . . .	...	2	3

\* Includes \$24.48 to close out *Austin Quarterly* account on April 27, 1954.

† Payments from University of Texas subsidy are shown in the Editor's report. The University of Texas granted the *Quarterly* \$3,650 for the year beginning September, 1953, and \$3,850 for the year beginning September, 1954. Out of this, \$2,400 per year is paid for technical services equivalent to a half-time employee at the University of Texas Press, and \$700.00 is used to provide some teaching relief to the Editor. The balance is used as a contribution to printing bills and for miscellaneous expenses.

‡ Disposition of balance:

Louisiana National Bank, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.....	\$1,604.83
Petty cash fund of Editor, Austin, Texas.....	25.00
	 \$1,629.83

*Meeting of the Executive Council, Saturday, April 9, 1955*

The meeting was called to order by President White at 9:10 A.M. Those present were: John W. White, O. J. Curry, Leon C. Megginson, P. F. Boyer, Carl M. Rosenquist, Frederic Meyers, W. H. Baughn, John E. Kane, Glenn D. Overman, Wendell Gordon, Vergil A. Shipley (proxy for S. M. Kennedy, Jr.), and Alfred B. Sears.

President White led a discussion of the meeting place for the 1956 convention. It was the consensus of the group that the meeting should be held in San Antonio, Texas, March 30-31, 1956.

The second order of business was the appointment of an editor for the *Quarterly*. It was moved by Shipley and seconded by Curry that Frederic Meyers continue as Editor. Motion carried unanimously.

It was moved by Meyers and seconded by Rosenquist that Leon Megginson be continued as Secretary-Treasurer. The motion was carried unanimously.

President White recommended that Second Vice-President J. William Davis be in charge of the Membership Committee for the coming year. O. J. Curry led a discussion of new memberships in the Association. It was suggested that at next year's convention the guests registering for the convention have "guest" written on their tags as was done at this convention. The Secretary-Treasurer reported that 85 guests registered for the convention, 47 new members were obtained during the registration, and 325 members attended the convention, a total registration of 410.

President White suggested a tour of

San Antonio in connection with the 1956 convention. It was the consensus of the group that this matter should be left up to the General Program chairman.

President White led a discussion of the meeting place for the convention in 1957. It was moved by Baughn and seconded by Shipley that the Association return to the Hotel Adolphus in Dallas in 1957 if satisfactory arrangements can be made. The motion was carried unanimously.

It was suggested that a letter be sent to the membership around the first of February preceding the convention to serve as a notice of the coming convention and also include information that would facilitate making hotel reservations.

Overman moved that an impartial person draw ballots to allocate the positions of the exhibitors at succeeding conventions. This was seconded and passed unanimously.

It was suggested that a membership list be mimeographed and mailed to the members as soon as practical following the convention.

It was moved by Meyers and seconded by Rosenquist that the *Quarterly* receive \$2,400 from the Association as part of the expenses of publishing the *Quarterly*. (This is an increase of \$100.) The motion carried unanimously following a discussion of the financial condition of the Association.

It was moved by Boyer that the secretary-treasurer have the authority to pay the expenses associated with his office. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

It was moved by Baughn and sec-

onded by Meyers that the fiscal year run from the first of March to the end of February of each year in order to facilitate the work of the secretary-treasurer. This was passed unanimously.

It was moved by Baughn and seconded by Boyer that if feasible the constitution and bylaws (as amended) be

printed in the *Quarterly* at the earliest convenience. Motion passed unanimously.

The motion was made to adjourn, seconded, and passed unanimously.

Leon C. Megginson  
*Secretary-Treasurer*

*Report of the Resolutions Committee, April 9, 1955*

WHEREAS, The successful handling of the work of this Association is in no small measure due to the selfless dedication of its leadership, and particularly of its Executive Council, whose members have performed their duties painstakingly and at the cost of their other professional interests and leisure; be it therefore *Resolved*, that the Southwestern Social Science Association, in general business session assembled this ninth day of April, 1955, hereby express its heartfelt appreciation and gratitude to the following persons:

To President P. F. Boyer, and Past Presidents Carl M. Rosenquist and H. R. Mundhenke, for their able direction of the Association during their terms of office;

To First Vice-President John W. White and Second Vice-President O. J. Curry, for their devotion to the work of the Association during many years;

To General Program Chairman Hubert Baughn, and Past Program Chairman W. I. Firey, for their careful administration of the detailed work of planning the annual conventions;

To Secretary-Treasurers Roy L. McPherson and Leon C. Megginson for their faithful performance of the arduous and time-consuming responsibilities of this office;

To the Editor of the *Quarterly*, Pro-

fessor Frederic Meyers, for his outstanding and scholarly contribution in editing the Association journal;

To all section chairmen and sectional officers, for their valuable work in planning and arranging for the contributions of each section of the Association to the annual convention;

To all officers and members of the Association committees, for their time and attention to the affairs of the organization.

Be it further *Resolved*, That the Association express its appreciation to Thomas H. Carroll, whose address at the Conference Dinner was one of the highlights of the 1955 convention.

Be it further *Resolved*, That the Association express its thanks to Ralph Green, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, and to Warren Law, Tom Rose, and John Wortham, members of the committee, to the Hotel Adolphus and especially to Albert A. Ingels, sales manager, for his splendid co-operation in arranging for convention facilities; and to the Dallas Chamber of Commerce for its assistance in making the convention a success.

Be it further *Resolved*, That the appreciation of the Association be extended to the Dallas *Morning News*, the Dallas *Daily Times Herald*, the Associated Press, the United Press, and

the local radio stations for the full and impartial coverage given to the events of the meeting.

Be it further *Resolved*, That the Association express its thanks to the following publishing companies, which displayed book exhibits and also contributed financially to the Association: American Book Company, D. C. Heath and Company, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., The Macmillan Company, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Houghton Mifflin Company, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Rinehart and Company, Inc., South-Western Publishing Company, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., Thomas Y. Crowell Company, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., The Ronald Press Company, D.

Van Nostrand Company, Inc., and John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Be it further *Resolved*, That the Association express its appreciation to the Institutional Members of the Association, whose financial contribution in excess of the regular membership dues has been of material assistance in the support of the Association; and particularly to the University of Texas and the University of Oklahoma for their subsidies covering in part the cost of publication of the *Quarterly*.

Aldon S. Lang, *Chairman*

Francis Cella

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The Association is urgently in need of copies of the following back issues of the *Quarterly*, to fill library orders and other orders for back issues:

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- Vol. 28, No. 3, December, 1947
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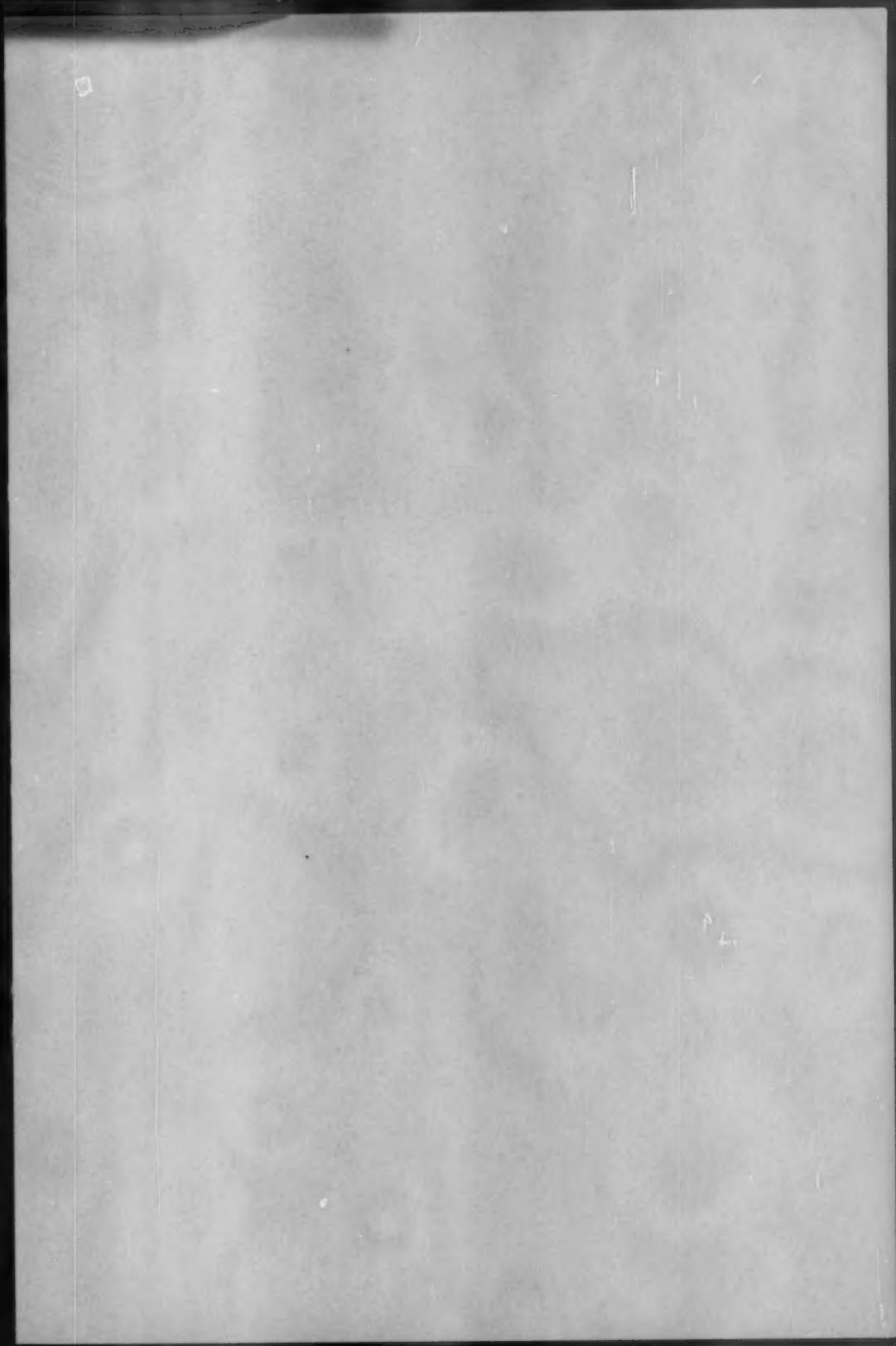
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